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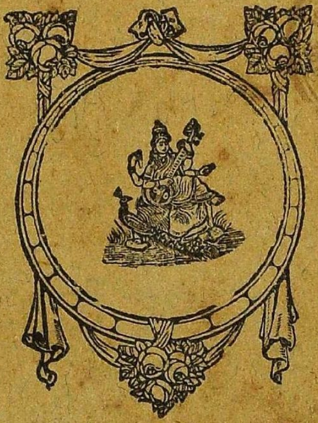

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PRAMĀṆA

BY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA.
Mysore.

The word *pramāṇa* comes from the root *mā* 'to measure' and signifies 'that by which we measure' or 'the means of measurement'[1]. This etymology gives us a clue to the aim of *pramāṇas* as understood in Indian philosophy. It is the measuring or testing the correctness of knowledge. It implies that the scope for *pramāṇa* arises when a thing is known but its knowledge is still uncertain[2]. The same also appears to be indicated by the well-known maxim *Lakṣaṇa-pramāṇābhyāṁ hi vastu-siddhiḥ* which means that, for anything to be completely established, description and investigation are both necessary[3]. In holding this view of *pramāṇas*, Indian philosophy, according to Prof. Deussen, exhibits kinship with modern philosophy which also sets itself the task of critically examining the store of knowledge that is already in us.

We shall discover the probable reason why the ancient Indian took such a view of *pramāṇas*, if we remember the state of things at the time when they first came to be formally investigated. Words derived from *pra + mā* are quite rare in Vedic literature; and where they occur[4], they seem to bear no logical significance. The term *pramāṇa* itself is, no doubt, used clearly with that significance in the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*[5]; but as the section

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1. See Deussen: *System of Vedānta*, p. 88.

2. *Nānupalabdhe na nirṇīte nyāyaḥ pravartate*: *Nyāya-sūtra-bhāṣya*, I. i, 1.

3. Quoted, for example, in the *Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālā-vistara*, I. i, 2. Others add probability (*sambhāvana*) as a third condition, so that the existence of the thing in question should be credible before we can examine whether it *is*. See *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṁgraha* (p. 25).

4. As *e.g.* in the Atharva-veda (X. vii, 32): *Yasya* (*i.e.* of Skambha) *bhūmiḥ pramā antarikṣam utodaram.*

5. VI. 14. The two or three other Upaniṣads, like the *Kālāgni-rudra Upaniṣad*, in which the word occurs, are still later.

where it occurs, if not the whole Upaniṣad, only nominally belongs to Vedic literature, we may conclude that *pramāṇa* as a logical concept came into vogue after the Vedic period. Now we know that the topic of *pramāṇas* was prominently discussed in India at the time of the Greek invasion[1]; and we may therefore fix the date of their first formulation early in the post-Vedic period. Let us consider what the circumstances prevalent then were. The Vedic period had closed and the whole of the complex orthodox tradition handed down from that period was challenging, so to say, examination. There had also grown up, as the history of Indian philosophy shows, a mass of heterodox thought which, as the result of independent thinking in different circles, exhibited a good deal of diversity[2]. Philosophy had thus for the most part become a matter of conflicting tradition, and the chief function of *pramāṇas* was naturally conceived as scrutinising this tradition. The importance attached to *śabda* in the sense of 'tradition' or 'revelation' (whether regarded as an independent *pramāṇa* or not), which is a unique feature of Indian thought, seems to lend colour to such a view.

From this account of the origin of *pramāṇas*, we should not assume that the Indian systems of philosophy, which all emerged after the Vedic period, are merely the result of organising the beliefs that had come down from the past and are not the outcome of an independent investigation of the nature of reality. But the consideration of this question will take us away from our subject. So we shall proceed to find out whether *pramāṇas* serve any purpose, other than investigation or scrutiny. Vātsyāyana, in his commentary on the first aphorism of Gautama, defines the distinctive feature of philosophy, as understood by him, as *pramāṇaiḥ artha-parīkṣaṇam* or the examination of the data of experience by means of *pramāṇas*. This definition, at first sight, seems entirely to support the view stated above, that the *pramāṇas* in general are means of scrutiny. But, according to Vācaspati[3], the word *pramāṇaiḥ* here is to be understood as signifying not all the *pramāṇas* but only one of them, *viz.*, reasoning or 'the five-membered syllogism', as he puts it. That the restriction of this function of investigation to but one of the

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 421.

2. See the present writer's *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 43-4.

3. *Tātparya-ṭīkā*, p. 42. (Benares Edition, 1925).

pramāṇas does not overstep the intention of Vātsyāyana is shown not only by what he says regarding the category of *avayava* further on in his commentary on the same aphorism, but also by what he adds in the course of elucidating the statement cited above: *Pratyakṣāgamaiḥ īkṣitasya anvīkṣaṇam anvīkṣā; tayā pravartata ityānvīkṣikī.* That is, the purpose of philosophy consists in a reviewing or rational consideration of the data of perception and verbal testimony. If it be so, two of the three *pramāṇas* commonly recognised by Indian logicians, *viz.*, perception and verbal testimony, are to be regarded as *sources* of knowledge, and the third, *viz.*, inference alone as the means of appraising its logical worth. Here we find recognised a second purpose of *pramāṇas* of which there is no indication in the etymological meaning of that term. A *pramāṇa* may *scrutinise* what is already known, but is not known for certain; it may also *reveal* the existence and nature of things not hitherto known at all. But, from what we have stated so far, it seems that no *pramāṇa* can do both.

This division of the *pramāṇas* into two groups, each with its own distinctive purpose, cannot, however, be the final truth about them. For experience shows us that there is no such demarcation between them. Thus perception and verbal testimony can very well aid investigation. The former, for example, may be the means of verification as when an object apprehended by the organ of sight is tested by means of touch, or when a doubt arising in respect of something inferred is cleared by actual observation. Inference again may bring to light facts previously unknown, since in all genuine forms of it the conclusion reached, in one form or other, goes beyond the premises and does not merely reassert what is already contained in them taken separately. In view of this fact, we have to modify our interpretation of Vātsyāyana's statement that inference is the sole means of investigation. As Uddyotakāra suggests[1] and as Vātsyāyana himself shows by the use of the word *nyāya* in this connection, we have to understand from 'reasoning' or 'inference' here not a process of convincing oneself of the truth of anything (*svārthānumāna*) when in doubt but that of formally demonstrating it to others (*parārthānumāna*). Such demonstration necessarily involves the expression of the reasoning process as a five-membered syllogism, especially when the topic in question is a metaphysical

1. *Nyāya-vārtika* (Benares Edition) pp. 13 and 17.

one; and it is for this reason that Vātsyāyana refers to inference alone in this connection, and not because he thinks that the other *pramāṇas* can never be instruments of investigation. In fact, he recognises the need for them even in the case of this form of inference, though only as auxiliaries to it. For instance, there would be little chance of convincing another of any truth, if there were no *dṛṣṭānta* or 'example', which depends upon perception and forms the basis of the third (*udāharaṇa*) of the five members of the Indian syllogism. We may accordingly say that all *pramāṇas* serve a twofold purpose. They may be sources of knowledge as well as means of scrutiny; and this duality of function naturally renders their conception ambiguous.

There is another ambiguity affecting the same conception which also needs to be noticed here. We have seen that a *pramāṇa* may be the source of knowledge, but this knowledge may be right or wrong. Perceptual knowledge and inference may be true or false, and verbal statements may be significant without being valid. In other words, *pramāṇas* may give rise to knowledge either in a purely psychological or in a purely logical sense. The names of the several *pramāṇas* are used for both. Thus, in the second of the two sentences quoted above from Vātsyāyana, *pratyakṣa* should be taken in a psychological sense because its data are there said to stand in need of a critical examination; but the same term in Gautama's definition of it is used in a logical sense, since it represents there knowledge that does not go astray (*avyabhicāri*)[1]. From what Uddyotakāra says[2], it appears that even the general term *pramāṇa*, whose recognised use is in the sense of what leads to right knowledge (*pramākaraṇam*), might occasionally share this ambiguity and be used where the knowledge is erroneous.

The failure to distinguish between these two uses accounts for some perplexing statements met with in philosophical works. We have one such instance in *Upalabdhi-sādhanam pramāṇam*, an old definition of *pramāṇa;* and Vācaspati in commenting upon it, feels constrained to interpret the first word in it as *pramā* or right knowledge, although Gautama himself has declared it to be a synonym of *jñāna* or knowledge in general[3]. As a second instance, we may refer to Viśvanātha's definition of *pratyakṣa*,

1. I. i, 4.
2. *Nyāya-vārtika*, pp. 3 and 7.
3. *Tātparya-ṭīkā*, pp. 20-1 and *Nyāya-sūtra*, 1. i, 15.

viz., *Indriya-janyam jñānam pratyakṣam*[1] where, according to the *Rāma-rudrīya*, the word *jñāna* is to be taken as equivalent to *pramā* for, otherwise, the definition will be out of accord with Gautama's definition of the same. Prof. Randle points out that the contention of certain Indian thinkers, like the followers of Nyāya, *viz.* that the validity of knowledge is established *ab extra* (*parataḥ prāmāṇyam*) is also traceable to the same source[2].

To sum up: The general term *pramāṇa* and the special ones also like *pratyakṣa* have three different, but closely connected, meanings: They signify first, a source of knowledge, without reference to its being either true or false; secondly, a source of valid knowledge; and lastly, a means of scrutiny. The distinction between the first two of these meanings is clear; but the same cannot, perhaps, be said of that between the last two. So a word of explanation may be necessary about it. *Pramāṇas*, in the second sense, are thought of as simply revealing truth. In the third sense also, their aim is taken to be the revelation of truth; but they are regarded as always presupposing doubt, and reaching truth after the discovery of the logical grounds for believing in one and not believing in the other of the two alternatives involved in doubt.[3] If the emphasis in the one case is on the cognitive side, it is on the probative side in the other. We may add that we have cited in the course of this paper only the authority of Nyāya teachers, because the Nyāya is pre-eminently a *pramāṇa-śāstra*, and not because the imperfect terminology referred to (so far as it is imperfect) is peculiar to that system.

1. *Siddhānta-muktāvalī*, pp. 235-6 (Nirṇayasāgara Edition).
2. *Indian Logic in the Early Schools*, p. 58, note 2.
3. Cf. *Nyāya-sūtra*, I. i, 41.

VIDYĀVINODA NĀRĀYAṆA'S COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D.

University of Madras.

Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda is one of the most important of the latter-day commentators on the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, hailing from Bengal. Among the earliest of the Bengal commentaries on this work is that of Sarvānanda and it was followed by that of Rāyamukuṭa. After Rāyamukuṭa, Nārāyaṇa is the most important commentator. Apart from Sarvānanda and Rāyamukuṭa, there were certain early Bengal commentators, but their works are not now available. Subhūticandra's commentary is available, but we do not know whether he was a native of Bengal. Other commentators whose works are available belong either to the period of Nārāyaṇa or are slightly later. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate the importance of Nārāyaṇa's work, a copy of which was acquired by the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. (R. 3645.)

Regarding the personality of the author, we know this much:—

In Pūrvagrāma in Rāḍha or Bengal there was a person of great learning by name Kalānidhi. He had a brother by name Jaṭādhara. Jaṭādhara's son was Bāṇeśvara and Bāṇeśvara's son was Nārāyaṇa. He had the title Vidyāvinoda, a distinction still in vogue in Bengal. Jaṭādhara wrote the Abhidhānatantra from Cāṭugrāma, the modern Chittagong. Rāyamukuṭa is supposed by Aufrecht to have been a contemporary of Jaṭādhara, and if so, Nārāyaṇa should be referred to the beginning of the sixteenth century A. D.

Nārāyaṇa's commentary is important in that it mentions a host of authors and works, many of whom are unknown or are little known. On the whole the author mentions over 100 authors and over 80 works. The following is a complete list of authors and works referred to in the course of the commentary:—

1. Abhinanda.
2. Ācāryamañjarī.
3. Ajaya.
4. Amaradatta.
5. Amaramālā.
6. Anekārthadhvanimañjarī.
7. Ardhanārīśvara.
8. Aruṇa.
9. Aruṇadatta.
10. Āścaryamañjarī.
11. Bhagavadgītā.
12. Bhāgavata.
13. Bhāgavṛtti.
14. Bhāguri.
15. Bhañjukośa.
16. Bhānu.
17. Bharata.
18. Bhārata.
19. Bhāravi.
20. Bhāṣāvṛtti.
21. Bhāṣya.
22. Bhaṭṭa.
23. Bhaṭṭavārtika.
24. Bhaṭṭi.
25. Bhavabhūti.
26. Bhavadeva.
27. Bhīmasena.
28. Bhoja.
29. Bhojadeva.
30. Bhojarāja.
31. Bṛhatkośa.
32. Bṛhaspati.
33. Cāṇakyaṭīkā.
34. Caṇḍī.
35. Candra.
36. Cāndra.
37. Candragomin.
38. Damayantī.
39. Dāmodara.
40. Daṇḍin.
41. Dhanañjaya.
42. Dhanvantari.
43. Dharaṇi.
44. Dharmadāsa.
45. Dhātupārāyaṇa.
46. Dhātupradīpa.
47. Dhṛtidāsa.
48. Durga.
49. Durgasiṁha.
50. Dvirūpakośa.
51. Ghaṭakarpara.
52. Gītā.
53. Govardhana.
54. Goyīcandra.
55. Haḍḍa.
56. Haḍḍacandra.
57. Halāyudha.
58. Hārāvalī.
59. Haravilāsa.
60. Harivaṁśa.
61. Harṣacarita.
62. Hemamālī.
63. Indu.
64. Indurāja.
65. Jānakīharaṇa.
66. Jātarūpa.
67. Jayāditya.
68. Jinendra.
69. Jumaranandin.
70. Kālidāsa.
71. Kaliṅga.
72. Kaliṅgadatta.
73. Kātya.
74. Kātyāyana.
75. Kaumudī.
76. Kāvyaprakāśa.
77. Kaiyaṭa.
78. Keśava.
79. Kīcakavadha.
80. Kohaḷa.
81. Kramadīśvara.
82. Kṛṣṇa.
83. Kṛṣṇadāsa.
84. Kumāradāsa.

85. Kumārasambhava.
86. Liṅgadatta.
87. Madanadatta.
88. Mādhava.
89. Mādhavikā.
90. Madhumādhava.
91. Madhumādhavaṭīkā.
92. Madhumitra.
93. Māgha.
94. Mahābhārata.
95. Mahārṇava.
96. Mahāvīracarita.
97. Mahimnasstava.
98. Maitra.
99. Manu.
100. Mārkaṇḍa.
101. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.
102. Medinī.
103. Medinīkāra.
104. Mokṣadharma.
105. Mukuṭa.
106. Murāri.
107. Mūrdhanyabheda.
108. Naladamayantī.
109. Nāmamālā.
110. Nānārthakośa.
111. Nandī.
112. Nārada.
113. Narasiṁha.
114. Nyāsa.
115. Nyāsakāra.
116. Pañjikā.
117. Pañjikānyāsa.
118. Pārāyaṇa.
119. Paśupati.
120. Prapañcasāra.
121. Purāṇa.
122. Pūrṇacandra.
123. Puruṣottomadeva.
124. Rabhasa.
125. Raghu.
126. Rājadeva.
127. Rājaśekhara.
128. Rakṣita.
129. Rāmadāsa.
130. Rāmadāsaṭīkā.
131. Rāmāyaṇa.
132. Rantideva.
133. Ratna.
134. Ratnākara.
135. Ratnakośa.
136. Ratnamālā.
137. Rāyamukuṭa.
138. Rāvaṇa.
139. Rudra.
140. Rudradāsa.
141. Rudradeva.
142. Rūparatnākara.
143. Śabarasvāmin.
144. Śabdamahārṇava.
145. Śabdamālā.
146. Śabdārṇava.
147. Śābdika.
148. Śābdika Narasiṁha.
149. Śāhasāṅka.
150. Śakārabheda.
151. Śākaṭāyana.
152. Śālihotra.
153. Sāmbapurāṇa.
154. Sañjha.
155. Sāṁkhya.
156. Saṁkṣiptasāra.
157. Saṁsārāvarta.
158. Saṁvarta.
159. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.
160. Sarvadhara.
161. Sarvasvam.
162. Sarvānanda.
163. Śāśvata.
164. Skanda.
165. Smṛti.
166. Śrībhoja.
167. Śrīdhara.
168. Śrī Harṣa.

169. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.
170. Śubhāṅka.
171. Subhūti.
172. Sumitra.
173 Sundaranandacarita.
174. Sūryaśataka.
175. Suśruta.
176. Svāmī.
177. Tārapāla.
178. Ṭīkākāra.
179. Ṭīkākṛt.
180. Trikāṇḍa.
181. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa.
182. Ujjvaladatta.
183. Uṇādivṛtti.
184. Upādhyāyasarvasva.
185. Ūṣmabheda.
186. Utpalamālā.
187. Utpalamālinī.
188. Utpalinī.
189. Vācaspati.
190. Vaikuṇṭha.
191. Vāmana.
192. Vāṇa.
193. Varāha.
194. Vararuci.
195. Varṇadeśanā.
196. Varṇamālā.
197. Vārtikakāramiśra.
198. Vāsavadattā.
199. Vātsyāyana.
200. Vāyupurāṇa.
201. Veṇīsaṁhāra.
202. Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana.
203. Vikramāditya.
204. Vinītakīrti.
205. Viṣṇupurāṇa.
206. Viśva.
207. Viṣvaksena.
208. Vopālita.
209. Vṛddhacarita.
210. Vṛddhāmarakośa.
211. Vṛttikṛt.
212. Vṛtti.
213. Vyāḍi.
214. Vyāsa.
215. Yājñavalkya.

I shall now proceed to give a short account of the most important and comparatively unknown of these authors and works.

Abhinanda.—He is the author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra, published in the Kāvyamālā.

Ācāryamañjarī.—This is in all probability the same as the Āścaryamañjarī of Kulaśekhara, the author of the Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa. *Āścarya* should have been mis-spelt and written as *Ācārya.* Three extracts are found from the Āścaryamañjarī in this commentary[1].

Ajaya.—The lexicon of Ajaya is known as Nānārtha-Saṅgraha. This has been published under the auspices of the Madras University.

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[1] *See* my papers on "A new commentary on the Amarakośa" and "Subhūticandra's commentary on the Amarakośa" in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

Amaradatta.—A lexicographer of antiquity. His lexicon is not available at present.

Amaramālā.—This is also a lexicon of antiquity; and this too is known only through citations. This is perhaps the same as the "Mālā". This is older than the tenth century.

Anekārthadhvanimañjarī.—A lexical work of this name is attributed to a *Kṣapaṇaka*, copies of which are available. This work has not been printed so far.

Ardhanārīśvara.—This writer is older than Sarvānanda of 1159 A. D. His work was presumably on the nature of genders in Sanskrit. The work is not available at present.

Aruṇa, Aruṇadatta.—These two names most probably indicate the same person. From the reference under the name of Aruṇadatta we have to infer that his work was in the nature of a commentary on a lexicon. But from the other reference under the name of Aruṇadatta we have to infer that he wrote a lexicon. The former reference reads thus:—

"किरीटं शिरोवेष्टनं शिरोभूषणम्" इत्यरुणः (p. 851).

The latter reference reads as follows:—

अरुणदत्तेन "विपणे च स्यात्" इति पुंस्त्वं प्रतिपादितम् (p. 197).

Bhāgavṛtti.—I have elsewhere[1] said that the Bhāgavṛtti is attributed to a Bhartṛhari. Bhartṛhari may turn out to be the same person as is referred to by Hieun Tsang and also different from the author of the Vākyapadīya. There are four references to the Bhāgavṛtti in this work.[2]

Bhāguri.—Bhāguri is the author of an old lexicon by name Trikāṇḍa. A Bhāguri is known to have been a grammarian; another Bhāguri was an authority on Dharmaśāstra. The three might or might not have been identical. In the name of Bhāguri there are about twenty extracts and in the name of the Trikāṇḍa there are over twenty-five. In one of the extracts we find the name of the work and the author coupled together.

त्रिकाण्डभागुरिश्च दन्तामाह [?] (p. 219).

Bhañjukośa.—The following extract gives the information regarding this work:—

"विष्णुः कुमोदकः शौरिः" इति भञ्जुकोषः.

1. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VIII.
2. *See* pp. 62, 452, 808 and 815.

It is likely that the author was one Bhañju and that he wrote a lexicon from which the extract cited above was taken. This work was unknown to Dr. Aufrecht.

Bhavadeva.—Bhavadeva is an important writer on Mīmāṁsā and Śrauta ritual. He was an important figure in Rāḍha in the twelfth century. He is referred to thus:—

यच्छ्रुतिः "यदग्नये शुचये निर्वपति"। शुचिनामानमग्निं संस्थाप्यते [?] इति भवदेवः (p. 708).

Bhoja, Bhojadeva and *Bhojarāja.*—These are three different names indicating the same individual. His Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and other works are referred to in this work.

Bṛhatkośa.—This is an entirely unheard of work. The name of the author is not known either. There is only one extract from this work and it runs thus:—

"सैरीयकः सहचरः" इति बृहत्कोशः (p. 266).

Bṛhaspati.—He is the same as Rāyamukuṭa[1] whose commentary on the Amarakośa is too well known.

Cāṇakyaṭīkā.—This is the work of Bhikṣuprabhamati, a fragmentary copy of which is found in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The extract from that work (on page 328) is the same as that cited by Sarvānanda in his Ṭīkāsarvasva. It is therefore likely that the author did not see the original for himself. Bhikṣuprabhamati is an ancient commentator on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya[2].

Caṇḍī.—There are four references from Caṇḍī. Neither the nature of the work nor the name of the work is known. Caṇḍī is probably the name of the author. From the extracts it seems as if it were a Kāvya.

Candra, Candragomin and *Cāndra.*—Candra and Candragomin seem to be identical. The one is a shortened form of the other. One extract in the name of Candra and three in the name of Candrgomin are found in this work.[3] All the four extracts are from a lexicon. The lexicon should have been arranged according to the final syllable of the words treated.

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1. This work will soon be published by the Madras University under the editorship of the author of this paper.

2. *See* pp. 155, 259, 414 and 515.

3. *See* pp. 137, 150, 538 and 608.

The references to the grammatical work of Candra is distinguished and always cited in this work as *Cāndraḥ*. It is likely that the grammarian is different from the lexicographer.

Damayantī.—The reference to this work is identical with the one cited by Subhūticandra[1]. Both are indebted to the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja, from where they borrow the extract.

Dāmodara.—In all likelihood Dāmodara here referred to is the author of the Upādhyāyasarvasva, a work on grammar. Two extracts in the name of Dāmodara[2] and five in the name of the Upādhyāyasarvasva[3] are found in this work.

Dharmadāsa.—The extract under this name happens to be the same as cited by Sarvānanda[4] and other writers. Sarvānanda while citing this extract from Dharmadāsa refers to the author as Dharma, omitting the appellation *dāsa*. One of the extracts from Dharmadāsa cited by Sarvānanda makes him out to be a poet.

Dhātupārāyaṇa.—This is the lost work of Pūrṇacandra, that is referred to here. Three extracts in the name of the Dhātupārāyaṇa[5] and one in the name of Pūrṇacandra[6] are found in this work. That Pūrṇacandra was the author of the Dhātupārāyaṇa is found mentioned by Sarvānanda.

Dhṛtidāsa.—Two extracts are cited in the name of one Dhṛtidāsa. Both of them are from a lexicon. I have elsewhere said that Dhṛtidāsa composed a lexicon[7].

Govardhana.--To Govardhana there are nearly ten references in the work under notice. Most of the references seem to point to a grammatical work of the author. His commentary on the Uṇādisūtra and the Aṣṭādhyāyī have been referred already by me elsewhere[8].

Haḍḍa, Haḍḍacandra.—The name of this writer is spelt differently in different places. In its full form it is Haḍḍacandra, and in the shortened form, Haḍḍa. The name is sometimes written as Haṭṭa and Haṭṭacandra. All these are vernacular

1. *See* Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VIII.
2. *See* pp. 248, 445.
3. *See* pp. 20, 147, 317 and 614.
4. *See* Ṭīkāsarvasva under II, iv, 76.
5. *See* pp. 138, 607 and 675.
6. *See* pp. 30.
7. J.O.R., Vol. VIII.
8. J.O.R., Vol. VIII,

forms of the word Bhaṭṭacandra. There are nearly forty references to this writer in the work under reference.

Haḍḍa wrote a work on grammar and another on lexicography. He was older than 1100 A. D. In all likelihood he belonged to Bengal.

Haravilāsa.—The following tag from the Haravilāsa appears on p. 840:—

दशाननक्षिप्तक्षुरप्तखण्डितम्.

Hemamālī.—I conjectured elsewhere[1] that this work should be regarded to be a lexicon. It is now confirmed by the extract found on page 822 of this work. It runs thus:—

उषा निशायामप्युक्ता.

Jātoja.—This writer is referred to thus:—

"हारामहादवरतात स्रात:" इति । अस्मात् तमीत्यमूलम्, तमा इत्येव पाठात् इति जातोजादय: (p. 77).

In this extract we find Jātoja criticising somebody who wanted to change the reading of a verse found in the Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana. From this we are able to say that Jātoja is later than the author of the Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana and earlier than Nārāyaṇa. This writer has not been referred to anywhere else.

Kṛṣṇadāsa.—Kṛṣṇadāsa belonged to Bengal. He wrote a commentary on the Amarakośa. Over forty extracts are found in the work under consideration from the commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa. No copy of that commentary is known to exist at present.

Liṅgadatta.—A writer of this name is referred to in this passage:—

"पुष्पफलं च जातमात्रम् ; अनाप्तकालिकत्वं जालकम्" इति लिङ्गदत्तः (p. 222).

Who this author is, is not clear.

Madanadatta.—Madanadatta seems to have been a lexicographer. What his work is, is not known. One extract from the lexicon of this author is cited on p. 161.

Mādhava.—Mādhava is the lexicographer, that is referred several times over in the work under reference. I have elsewhere said that the lexicon of this writer is known as Paryāya-

1. J.O.R., Vol. VIII.

ratnamālā and that it should have been composed on the model of the Anekārthasamuccaya of Śāśvata.

Madhumādhava, Madhumādhavaṭīkā.—There are over 100 extracts in the name of Madhumādhava in the work under notice. Madhumādhava was a Bengal commentator on the Amarakośa. From the fact that he is not referred to by Sarvānanda and Subhūti and that he is cited as an authority by Rāyamukuṭa in his Vyākhyā we can assign this author to a period between 1200 and 1400 A. D. No copy of the work is known to exist anywhere. The available extracts from this lost commentary are being published in the Journal of Oriental Research.

Madhumitra.—References to Madhumitra as a lexicographer were cited already[1]. He was probably a commentator on the Amarkośa as well. Of the six extracts[2] from his composition found in the work under reference only one seems to point to a lexicon and that extract is the same as was already cited by me. All other extracts appear to be taken from a commentary on the Amarakośa.

Naladamayantī.—This work is referred to thus:—

प्रियालपनससाराणि [?] यौवनानि वनानि इति नळदमयन्ती (p. 237).

It is likely that this is the same work as the one referred to by Subhūticandra. Subhūticandra in turn cites an extract from the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa without mentioning the name, in which Damayantī is referred to as a Kāvya in prose and verse mixed together. The extract cited above is from a prose passage and it is not unlikely that the work referred to here is the same as that known to the author of the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

Nāmamālā.—The Nāmamālā is no doubt a lexicon. From the work under notice we know that one of the several Nāmamālās known to us contained verses in the Āryā metre (p. 373).

Nandī.—The name of Nandī is coupled with that of Śābarasvāmin in the following extract:—

वृफळेति नन्दिशबरस्वामिनौ (p. 594).

1. J.O.R., Vol. VIII.
2. *See* pp. 205, 217, 232, 252, 269 and 779.
3. J. O.R., Vol. VIII.

Pañjikā.—This is an old commentary on the Amarakośa, much relied on by Mukuṭa and others. There are about eight extracts in this work from the Pāñjikā. The Pañjikā is now lost.

Paśupati.—This author is referred to thus:—

वास्तु कायतीति वास्तुकम् इति । वास्तुप्रभवत्वात् इति पशुपतिः (p. 320).

Who this Paśupati is, is not clear.

Pūrṇacandra.—He is the author of the Dhātupārāyaṇa, now lost to us.

Rājadeva.—Rājadeva is a grammarian. His explanation of the word शेवधि is given thus:—शे कल्याणेऽब्धिः शेवधिः (p. 53).

Ratnākara.—Ratnākara is referred to thus:—

वाश्यते काम्यत इति तालव्यश इति रत्नाकरः (p. 728).

Ratnākara may be the name of either an author or a work. Anyway the extract cited above deals with grammatical points. There is only one extract in the name of Ratnākara.

Ratnakośa.—There are over seventy extracts from the Ratnakośa in the work under reference. This Kośa, according to Sarvānanda, consisted of at least three Kāṇḍas—Strīkāṇḍa, Puṁskāṇḍa and and Napuṁsakakāṇḍa. This is one of the oldest of the lost Sanskrit lexicons.

Rudra.—Rudra is another lexicographer belonging to a period prior to the 12th century A. D. Rudra's identity is not well known, but we know this much that he should have lived prior to Kṣīrasvāmin, for the latter quotes certain verses which are attributed to Rudra by others. For instance the verse

निर्दिष्टा वै कटकिनी स च कालेयकः स्मृतः ।
कालीयको दारुनिशा दार्वीपीतद्रुपीतकाः ॥

quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin under II-iv-102 is attributed to Rudra in the same context by Bhānuji in his Vyākhyāsudhā. But the most interesting reference so far as Rudra is concerned is the ardha

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता

cited by Kṣīrasvāmin, but attributed to Rudra by Bhānuji under III-i-25. This tag is cited as Bhaṭṭa Tota's by Abhinavagupta. We

do not know whether Tota was otherwise known as Rudra or whether Rudra borrowed the tag from Tota.

Śabdamahārṇava.—There is only one reference to this lost lexicon in the commentary under reference. The name of the author of this work is not known, nor his probable date, except that he is older than Nārāyaṇa.

Śabdamālā.—This is another lexicon like the above one. There is only one reference to this work on page 190 of the ms.

Sarvadhara.—The Sarvadhara referred to by Nārāyaṇa in five different places in the work under notice should have been a commentator on the Amarakośa. Copies of Sarvadhara's commentary are rare to meet with. It is difficult, in the absence of any copy of his commentary, to say whether he is identical with the author of an Uṇādivṛtti, a fragmentary copy of which is found in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The latter is a palm leaf ms. copied about the 12th century. If the two are identical, Sarvadhara is one of the oldest of the Bengal commentators. It may be noted that Sarvadhara has not been mentioned by Sarvānanda.

Sumitra.—This is another unknown lexicographer. The following citation from his work is found on page 520.

यादोभेदेऽपि शङ्कुः स्यात् शल्येऽपि शङ्कुरुच्यते ।

Utpalamālā, Utpalamālinī and *Utpalinī.*[1]—The Utpalamālinī is different from the other two works, and probably dealt with the grammar of the Samkṣiptasāra school[2].

Vaikuṇṭha.—There are sufficient reasons to suppose that Vaikuṇṭha is a commentator on the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. Five extracts from his work are found in the work under reference. All these extracts might well have found a place in his commentary.

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1. *See* Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VIII, p. 212.
2. *See* p. 9 of the ms.

THE FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY.*

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.,
University of Madras.

Within a decade after its conquest by the Muhammadans, the territory which was under the sway of the valiant Rājā of Kampili passed into the hands of the five sons of Saṅgama, who extended its boundaries quickly and laid the foundations of a mighty empire. The circumstances under which the transference of this territory was made from the Muslim hands again to those of the Hindus are not known. It has been assumed that the territory was reconquered from the Mussalmans by Harihara I and his brothers; this assumption has been accepted as an undoubtable fact, though no evidence can be brought forward in support of it. An attempt is made in the following pages to describe the way in which Harihara I and his brothers succeeded in laying hold of the dominion of the Rājā of Kampili.

Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the Sultan of Dehli, invaded the kingdom of Kampili in 1326 A.D., the Rājā was slain in the siege of Hosdurg; and his sons, together with many of the inhabitants of the fort, were taken prisoners and were sent to the Sultan's camp which was probably at Dēvagiri. The Sultan converted all of them to Islam. Nothing more is known about the affairs of Kampili subsequent to its conquest. However, a few incidental remarks made by the historian Barni show that the kingdom of Kampili was annexed to the empire of Dehli, and that a governor was appointed to carry on its administration. Nuniz, a Portuguese writer of the early 16th century, gives a connected account of the events that happened in the kingdom of Kampili after its subjugation by Sultan Muhammad. According to his narrative, the Sultan halted for two years in the fort of Crynmata (Kummaṭa), when he destroyed 'some villages and towns which had risen against him.' At the end of this period, he was constrained to depart to Northern India, owing to the outbreak of a rebellion. He gathered together his scattered army, and having left 'many

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* Read before the All India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum in December, 1938.

troops' 'in the fortress' under the command of one of his Mussalman officers called variously Enbiquay Melly, Meliquey Niby or Mileque Neby with 'abundant provisions for its defence in all circumstances,' he hastened with the rest of his army to 'his own kingdom.'

As soon as the Sultan departed, the people of the kingdom of Kampili rose in rebellion against Meliquey Niby, their governor. They withheld the payment of taxes, besieged him in the fortress, and prevented provisions from reaching him. Meliquey Niby informed the Sultan, his master, of this state of affairs and requested him to do what he considered best under the circumstances.

On receiving this information, the Sultan, acting upon the advice of his councillors, released from prison six men of Kampili whom he held captive. He appointed one of them, who was the minister of the late king of Kampili, as its new king; and made another, who was formerly treasurer under the old king, governor. And having taken from them 'oaths and pledges of their fealty as vassals' he sent them 'to their lands with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them any injury."

The new king, who was called Devarao, relieved, on his arrival, Meliquey Niby of his charge and assumed the duties of his office. He carried on the administration of the country for six years, during which he pacified 'the people and those who had revolted' and laid the foundations of a new capital. He abandoned the idea of reconquering the lost lands as he had no army. On his death, Bucarao 'inherited the kingdom.'[1]

The account of Nuniz contains a few errors. It is true that Sultan Muhammad stayed in the Deccan for two years after the subjugation of Kampili, but he could not have made the fortress of Crynmata (Kummaṭa) his headquarters, as he had just then transferred the capital of his kingdom to Dēvagiri, and was busy in reducing Kondhāna and other forts which still held out against him. It is more likely that the Sultan stayed at Dēvagiri than at Kummaṭa. Again Nuniz's assertion that Devarao ruled only for six years and that he abandoned the lost territory of the old kingdom of Kampili owing to the lack of an army is contrary to known facts; for, Devarao, *i.e.*, Harihara I, ruled for

1. Forgotten Empire, pp. 294-300.

twenty years during which he was continuously at war with his neighbours.

Notwithstanding these errors, the narrative of Nuniz seems to describe the events in the kingdom of Kampili with substantial accuracy, and his account is supported by evidence furnished by other independent sources. According to him, Sultan Muhammad appointed Meliquey Niby, one of his Mussalman officers, as the governor of the conquered territory; but this officer is not known to the Mussalman historians, and no trace of him is found in any Hindu record. Sewell has equated the name Meliquey Niby with Malik Nāib[1]; but this does not enable us to identify this officer; for, Malik Nāib is not a proper name but an official designation of the provincial governors. The attempt to identify him with Malik Maqbūl[2] cannot be said to be more successful; for, in the first place, there is no evidence to associate Malik Maqbūl's name with the governorship of Kampili; and secondly, by the time when he was posted to the province of Teliṅgāṇā in 1335 A.D. Harihara I was already the master of Ānegondi, holding sway over a large part of the Telugu country. The real clue for discovering the identity of Meliquey Niby is furnished by the chronicles of the Āravīḍu chiefs. The Bālabhāgavatam and the Rāmarājīyam assert that Sōmadēvarāja, one of the early Āravīḍu chiefs, defeated in battle a certain Muhammadan chief called Muhammad, captured him with six thousand horse, and released him only after he acknowledged Sōmadēvarāja as his overlord. Muhammad who was thus vanquished by Sōmadēva has been identified with the Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shāh I.[3]

This identification, however, is not tenable, as Sōmadēvarāja lived before the time of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani I. According to the Bālabhāgavata, Koṭikanṭi Rāghava, a half-brother of this Sōmadēvarāja, defeated Kampili Rāya, and deprived him of the seven constituents of his royalty.[4] As Kampili Rāya ruled from 1303 to 1326 A.D., Koṭikanṭi Rāghava who defeated him, as well as his half-brother Sōmadēvarāja, must have lived about the same time. Therefore, Muhammad whom

1. Sewell: The Forgotten Empire, p. 296 n. 2.
2. Ishwari Prasad: History of the Qaraunah Turks in India I, p. 189.
3. S. K. Ayyangar: The Sources of Vijayanagar History Intro., p. 6.
4. The Bhārati vi. P. 848.

Sōmadēva defeated could not have been Muhammad Shāh Bahmani I. An attempt has been made recently to identify this Muhammad with Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq.[1] Though, on chronological grounds, the identification is quite possible, it is not probable that the Muhammad under consideration could have been Sultan Muhammad. It is inconceivable how a petty chief like Sōmadēva could have managed to inflict a defeat upon the powerful Sultan of Dehli, and take him prisoner; much less is it credible that the Sultan purchased his freedom by recognising his captor as his overlord. Muhammad who was defeated and captured by Sōmadēva must have been one of the Sultan's officers governing the country in the neighbourhood of Kampili; for, it was in this region that Sōmadēva appears to have come into conflict with him. Prince Mahmūd Khān, one of the sons of Ghiāṣ-ud-din Tughlaq, was in charge of Dēvagiri at the time of Ulūgh Khān's flight from Warangal in 1323 A. D. It is said that Sultān Ghiāṣ-ud-dīn Tughlaq conferred Dēvagiri upon him as a fief;[2] and that he went to Dehli at the instance of Ulugh Khān to convey the news of the rebellion of Tamar and Taghi at Warangal. As Mahmūd Khān was on friendly terms with Ulūgh Khān, it is unlikely that he was deprived of his fief when the latter ascended the throne of Dehli in 1325 as Muhammad bin Tughlaq. After the suppression of Bahā-ud-dīn Garshāsp's rebellion and the annexation of the kingdom of Kampili, Sultan Muhammad made Dēvagiri his capital. The shifting of the capital to Dēvagiri must have deprived Mahmūd Khān of his estate; and the Sultan must have felt the need for providing him with a suitable substitute. The land of Kampili which had been conquered had to be placed under a trustworthy officer; and it is not unlikely that the Sultan entrusted to Mahmūd Khān the administration of the conquered territory on the eve of his departure to Dehli in 1328 A. D. In that case, Mahmūd Khān must be identified with Muhammad, the enemy of Sōmadēvarāja, and Meliquey Niby of Nuniz.

1. C. Virabhadra Rao: Aḷiyarāmarāju, p. 20.
2. Īṣāmy: The Futūh-us-Salāṭīn.
Pas ānga shanīdam ki Maḥmūd khān
Ki bud mukhaffir-i-jumla shahzādgān
Shahash karda bud maqṭa'-i-Dēvgīr
Hamī būd ānjā sukūnat pizīr.

The rebellion: Mahmūd Khān, however, found it the difficult to govern his province; for, according to Nuniz, the people of Kampili—'those who had escaped to the mountains', with others who, 'against their will and through fear had taken oaths of fealty for their towns and villages'—rose up in rebellion as soon as they heard that the Sultan of Dehli 'departed to his own kingdom.' They withheld the payment of taxes, laid siege to his headquarters, and prevented provisions from reaching him. The names of the Hindu leaders who stirred up this rebellion are not known. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the Āravīḍu chief Sōmadēva mentioned above played a decisive part in it. He is said to have defeated, as stated already, in several battles the renowned Mussalman warrior Muhammad, and captured him ultimately, with six thousand horse, but released him from captivity, when he acknowledged Sōmadēva as his overlord. He also laid siege to the fort of Gaṅginēnikoṇḍa and put Naḍa Bāla Nāyaka, Gujjala Vīrinēḍu, Rudrapa Nāyaka, Gaurā Reḍḍi and Gaṅgi Nāyaka to the sword. On a single day, during the course of a military expedition, he is said to have taken the seven forts of Ganginēnikoṇḍa, Kandanavōlu (Kurnool), Kaluvakolanu, Rāchūr (Rāichūr), Musalimaḍugu, Yātagiri (Ētgir) and Sātānikōṭa. Moreover, he won victories in the battles of Nāgulapāḍu, Ānegondi and Kunti and Sara.

The region which was the scene of Sōmadēva's exploits is a small area comprising portions of the Kurnool, Bellary and Raichur districts; for, almost all the forts which he is said to have captured and the places where he won victories are found in this tract. It is interesting to note that most of this territory was under Kampili Rāya until 1326 A. D.; then it passed into the hands of the Sultan of Dehli. Sōmadēva must have come into conflict with the famous Muslim warrior, Muhammad only in this region. If Sōmadēva had to fight several battles with Muhammad, it is evident that the Mussalman warrior had a firm hold on the country. These considerations taken together with the age in which Sōmadēva lived lead us to the unavoidable conclusion that he must have taken a predominant part in the rebellion. The battles in which he is said to have won victories must have been won over the Dehli armies under Mahmūd Khān, the *nāib* of the province of Kampili, and the Nāyaks whom he is said to have slain must have been the chiefs who remained loyal to the Sultan, notwithstanding the rebellion that was seething around them.

The progress of the rebellion must have been greatly influenced by the attitude of Ballāḷa III. He submitted meekly to the Sultan when Khwājah Jahān threatened to enter his kingdom in pursuit of Bahā-ud-dīn Garshāsp, and purchased peace by surrendering the fugitive whom he had entrapped. So long as the Sultan remained in the Deccan, Ballāḷa dared not swerve from the path of loyalty; but as soon as the Sultan turned his back on the Deccan, and the people of the newly subjugated lands showed signs of restiveness, he tore the mask of submission and asserted independence. "At that time", says the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta, "the Nava[1] Ballāḷas, having gathered strength, rebelled against the Sultan in Karṇātaka." And this is corroborated by the evidence of Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna, according to which the Sultan sent an army under Harihara and Bukka to make war upon king Ballāḷa. It is but natural that Ballāḷa and the leaders of the Kampili rebellion should have joined together to wage war upon the common enemy, the Sultan of Dehli.

The combined forces of the rebels and Ballāḷa must have been too strong for Mahmūd Khān to resist. He was convinced that he could not make any headway against the rebels under the circumstances. Therefore, he informed the Sultan of this state of affairs and requested him to do what he considered best.

Harihara appointed governor of Kampili: The statement of Nuniz that the Sultan appointed Devarao, *i.e.*, Harihara I, as the governor of the province of Kampili is also confirmed by the evidence of the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta and Kālajñāna. According to the former, Harihara and his brother Bukka, who were in the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal, were taken prisoners together with their master by the Sultan of Dehli, when he captured Warangal. They remained at his court; and the Sultan, on hearing of the rebellion of the Nava Ballāḷas in Karṇāṭaka, sent Harihara and his brother with an army to subdue the rebels. The latter states more accurately that Harihara and Bukka who were in the service of Pratāparudra fled from Warangal, when that monarch was defeated and captured by Muhammad, the

1. The significance of the term *'nava'* in Nava Ballāḷaru is not quite clear. It may mean either nine or new. In either case the real import of the word in this context is incomprehensible. However that may be, Ballāḷa III was the king of Karṇāṭaka about the time of the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

Sultan of Dehli, and entered the service of Rāmanātha of the Kuru race. When the Sultan slew Rāmanātha they were also taken prisoners, and were kept in his court. Later, they were, however, released from prison and sent to Karṇāṭaka against king Ballāḷa. Barni also alludes to the appointment by the Sultan of a governor over Kampili, who, however, stirred up a revolt against his master and asserted independence some time before 1344 A. D.[1] Since Harihara was holding sway, as shown by his inscriptions, over the region of Kampili from 1336 to 1344 A.D., it is certain that the governor of Kampili alluded to by Barni is none other than Harihara himself.[2]

Why did Sultan Muhammad select Harihara and Bukka for leading the expedition against king Ballāḷa of Karṇāṭa and the rebels of Kampili? The Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna states that 'when they were in captivity, there was a thunderstorm at night, (the jail guards deserted their posts), and the Sultan was asleep; he (got up) and came out and found the two prisoners standing (inside) far from the gateway, and asked them why they were standing there; then the wise Sultan decided that they were very truthful, and he released them after presenting to them the country of Karṇāṭa."[3] This explanation is far from satisfactory. The Sultan might have released them from custody, being struck with admiration for their upright conduct; but it is not possible to believe that he had gone so far in his admiration as to bestow on them the province of Karṇāṭaka. As a matter of fact, the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta states that the Sultan 'being convinced of their uprightness' released them from imprisonment; he took them 'into his service and retained them at his court.' Therefore, the appointment of Harihara as the governor of the province of Kampili was not due to the admiration of the Sultan excited by his upright conduct. According to these works, Harihara and Bukka still remained Hindus at this time. Nevertheless, the Sultan is said to have bestowed upon them the province of Karṇāṭaka, thereby making an exception in their case. Though Sultan Muhammad was more liberal towards the Hindus than any other Muhammadan king of Dehli excepting Akbar, he never appointed a Hindu to the governorship of a province, unless,

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1. E.D., iii, p. 245.

2. The Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara, pp. 93-6.

3. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's translation.

like Kattu of Telingāṇā[1], he happened to be a convert to the true faith. Therefore, Harihara and Bukka would not have been posted to the government of Kampili had they remained Hindus at the time of appointment.

There is reason to believe that Harihara and Bukka like the others who were taken prisoners at Hosdurg were constrained to embrace Islam. "The town was taken", says Ibn Baṭūṭa, "its inhabitants were made prisoners, and they carried them to the Sultan *who made them all Mussalmans.*"[2] It is not likely that Harihara and his brother who were among the prisoners were allowed to remain unconverted. The historian Barni explicitly states that the officer whom the Sultan had sent to govern Kampili apostatised from Islam.[3] It has been pointed out already that this governor was none other than Harihara I.[4] This view is also confirmed by Īṣāmy, another contemporary historian, who declares that the land of Kannaḍ extending from Gooty as far as the boundary Ma'bar was conquered by an apostate from Islam, some time after the rebellion of Sharīf Aḥasan Shāh at Madura.[5] Gooty mentioned by Īṣāmy is identical with Gooty in the Anantapur district, a famous stronghold in this part of the country since the time of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi. Ma'bar, according to Wassaf, "extends in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilāwar (Nellore) nearly three hundred parsangs along the sea-coast."[6] Although this indicates the extent of Ma'bar along the coast, its northern boundary in the interior is not known. However, as the Sultan of Ma'bar was in possession of Arcot and Kuppam (Kaṇṇanūr) at the time of Ibn Baṭūṭa's visit to Madura, the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and the two Arcots seem to have been included in it. The Śambuvarāyas were in possession of the Chingleput district. Therefore, the country of Kannaḍ which the apostate conquered must have comprised, besides Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittore districts and probably also a large part of Nellore district. And as Hari-

1. E.D., iii, p. 367.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 614-15.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6.
4. The Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara, p. 96.
5. Īṣāmy. The Futūh-us-Salāṭīn.
Yake murtadd iqlīm-i-Kannaḍ girift
Zi Gūty u tā ḥadd-i-Ma'bar girift.
6. E. D., iii, p. 32.

hara I was governing this tract of country from 1336 onwards,[1] it is not unreasonable to assume that he was the apostate referred to by Īṣāmy. There is thus ample contemporary evidence to show that Harihara I was a Mussalman by faith at the time of his appointment as the governor of Kampili. The Sultan very probably selected him for the office, owing to the considerations of religion.

It may, however, be asked why, if conversion to Islam was the criterion for the appointment, the Sultan did not choose one of the sons of the late Rājā of Kampili; for, like Harihara, they also embraced Islam and were rewarded by the conferment of high offices and jagirs. As the sons of the late Rājā, they must have had a greater claim upon the consideration of the Sultan than Harihara and Bukka who were but the servants of their family. The appointment of a son of the late Rājā of Kampili as the governor of his ancestral dominion, however, involved a breach of the policy which the early Tughlaq monarchs had favoured. They resolved to bring the whole of India under a single umbrella; and in pursuance of this policy, they overthrew all the independent and semi-independent kingdoms in the peninsula and incorporated them with the empire. The appointment of a son of the Rājā of Kampili as the governor of his native country which was in a state of rebellion might lead to the revival of the old kingdom, thereby causing a breach in the unity of the empire. The appointment of Harihara and Bukka, whose claim to rule the district depended entirely upon the authority of the Sultan, was expected, on the other hand, to keep it within the empire. Considerations such as these must have influenced the Sultan in sending Harihara with his brother to rule the land of Kampili.

The Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta and Kālajñāna relate that in obedience to the commands of the Sultan, Harihara and Bukka crossed the river Kṛṣṇā by means of a boat and encountered Ballāḷa in a battle. They were, however, defeated, and, being separated from their army, had to wander in the forest. Harihara, who was tired, fell asleep under a tree, resting his head upon the

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1. According to the Kāpalūr plates dated 1336 A. D. Harihara's possessions along the Suvarṇamukharī were constituted into a *rājya* with Chandragiri in the Chittore district as its headquarters. (N. D. I. Cp. No. 15.)

lap of his brother. He had a dream in which he saw the Śaiva saint Rēvaṇa who gave him a liṅga and commanded him to see the sage Vidyāraṇya. Harihara woke up from sleep and related the dream to his brother. They started at once, and in accordance with the command of Rēvaṇa, paid a visit to Vidyāraṇya. The sage received them kindly and blessed them; and by his grace their army which was scattered, reassembled; they proceeded against Ballāḷa and defeated him in battle.

The incidents described in the foregoing passage could not have taken place in a single day. It is not possible to believe that Harihara and Bukka proceeded to attack Ballāḷa, even before they met Mahmūd Khān (Meliquy Niby) and took charge of the office from him. The battle with Ballāḷa (*i.e.*, the Ballāḷa at the head of the rebels) took place most probably after Harihara had assumed the governorship of the district. His defeat was perhaps partly due to the apathy shown to him by the people, as he was a Mussalman.

The wandering in the forest, referred to in the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta and Kālajñāna, seems to indicate the retirement of the two brothers to some place beyond the reach of the rebels, where they could recuperate their strength undisturbed. As the rebels were in possession of the north and west of the territory of Kampili, Harihara and his brother were obliged to seek shelter in some place further south or east. There is reason to believe that they retired to the fort of Gooty, which they seem to have made their headquarters, until they were able to subdue the rebels. According to Īṣāmy who was a contemporary of Harihara, he conquered Kannaḍ, as noticed already, from Gooty to the boundary of Ma'bar. It is evident that Gooty was the place from which he proceeded to subdue the country up to the frontier of Ma'bar, and very probably it was his capital. This view is supported by epigraphical evidence. The fort of Gutti (Gooty) according to an undated inscription found in the place, was 'the nave of the wheel of sovereignty over the whole earth of the illustrious king Bukka.' Moreover, it is said to be the increaser of his prosperity.[1] The inscription refers to a period when Gutti (Gooty) was the capital of Bukka's kingdom. As Bukka shifted his headquarters at first to Penugoṇḍa and afterwards to Dvārasamudra subsequent to 1340 A. D.,

1. S. I. I., i., p. 167.

the inscription under consideration must be assigned, as pointed out by me elsewhere, to a date earlier than 1340.[1] An epigraph from Aṭakalaguṇḍu dated 1339 A. D. mentions Gutti (Gooty) as the Nelevīḍu from which Harihara I was ruling the kingdom. The Kāpalūr and the Yaṟṟaguḍi plates, however, assert that Kuñjarakōna (Ānegondi) was the capital of Harihara's kingdom in 1336 A.D.[2] Though the evidence of the inscriptions appears to be divergent, there is reason to think that their disagreement is more apparent than real. It has already been pointed out that Sōmadēvarāja captured among other forts Ādavani, Ānegondi, Rāichūr and Mudgal from Mahamūd Khān; and that Harihara and Bukka were defeated by the rebels on their arrival in the province of Kampili. Therefore, it was not possible for them to establish themselves at Ānegondi immediately, and consequently they appear to have retired to Gutti which they made their headquarters. By 1336 A. D., however, they extended their dominion, and having vanquished the rebels, recaptured Ānegondi, as will be shown presently, and made it the capital of their kingdom. Notwithstanding the change of the capital, Harihara as well as Bukka were residing in the fort of Gutti for a few years longer. Consequently it came to be mentioned in the inscriptions as the Nelevīḍu or the headquarters of these princes, even after the change of the principal seat of their government from that place.

Harihara's dream: The Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta and Kālajñāna assert, as mentioned already, that Harihara saw in a dream Rēvaṇa Siddha[3] who gave him a *liṅga* and directed him to pay a visit to Vidyāraṇya. The contemporaries of Harihara believed in dreams and supernatural occurrences. Īṣāmy describes a dream in which Zafar Khān ('Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Bhamani) saw an aged saint who presented him with a ring, *i. e.*, the

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1. The Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara, p. 139.

2. N. D. I. I Ch. 15; E. C. X Bg. 70.

3. Rēvaṇa is one of the five *ācāryas* of the Vīra Śaiva or the Liṅgāyat sect. An inscription of Siravaḷḷa dated S.S. 1110 Plavaṅga, Bhādrapada ba 30, Friday, Solar eclipse, records the grant of land to Siddha Rēvaṇa, the priest of the temple of the god Siddha Sātēśvara. He is probably identical with the Vīra Śaiva *ācārya*. Mac. Mss. (Govt. Or. Mss. Lib.) 15-6-34. p. 35.

insignia of future royalty[1]. The dream of Harihara probably indicates his contact with the Vīra Śaivas which seems to have ultimately resulted in his reconversion. The advice which Rēvaṇa Siddha gave him that he should pay a visit to Vidyāraṇya is indeed sensible; for, without Vidyāraṇya's support, it would not have been possible for him to be accepted by the Hindus as their lawful sovereign.

An abrupt change which came over the political conditions of South India at this time must have exercised considerable influence upon Harihara in making up his mind. Sharīf Aḥsan Shāh, whom the Sultan sent from Dehli to govern the province of Ma'bar revolted in 1334 A. D. and asserted his independence. The Sultan marched at the head of his army to put down the rebel. On arriving at Dēvagiri in 1335 A. D., he made some arrangements for the collection of the revenue and marched on to Warangal, where an epidemic was raging. A large part of the Sultan's army perished in the disease; and the Sultan, who was also attacked in his turn, relinquished the idea of proceeding to Ma'bar to suppress the rebellion. He appointed Malik Maqbūl as the ruler of Tilang and retraced his steps to Dēvagiri, with the object of returning to Dehli. He halted for a few days at Dēvagiri, when he appointed Shihāb Sulṭāni as the governor of Bidar and its neighbourhood, bestowing upon him the title of Nuṣrat Khān. He also appointed his old tutor, Qutlugh Khān as the governor of the Marhatta country, and hastened homewards. Owing to the continued political disturbances in Northern India, the Sultan could not return to the Deccan until 1346, and Sharīf Aḥsan Shāh was thus left in possession of Ma'bar as an independent monarch.[2]

Though the Sultan is said to have made on this occasion arrangements for the efficient administration of his possessions in Marhatta country and Teliṅgāṇā (both at Warangal and Bidar), no mention is made of Kampili or its affairs in this connection. It may be inferred from this that Harihara was still loyal to the Sultan; and consequently the Sultan found no reason to alter the existing administrative arrangements in his province. Therefore, the Sultan returned to his capital, believing probablyt hat he had

1. Īṣāmy: Futūh-us-Salāṭīn.
2. Barni: Tarīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi, E. D. iii, p. 244.

placed the affairs of the Deccan on a sound basis. In this, however, he was mistaken. The failure of the Sultan to suppress the rebellion of Sharīf Aḥsan Shāh had deleterious effects upon the stability of the empire. The prestige of the army of the Sultan sank low; and the smouldering embers of discontent manifested signs of the approaching conflagration.

Harihara whose territory lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Ma'bar, could not have remained unaffected. He seems to have made up his mind to cast in his lot with the Hindus of his province. The Sultan was entangled in a series of troubles in Northern India, and there was no likelihood of his return to the Deccan for a pretty long time. On the other hand, reversion to the Hindu faith was expected to strengthen his hold on the people and increase the extent of his territory. Therefore, he resolved to abandon Islam and return to the faith of his fathers. It was not, however, an easy task. No doubt, he had the support of the Vīra Śaivas; but they were a small minority. The mass of the Hindu population, excepting the followers of Rāmānuja, owed allegiance to the Jagadguru Śaṅkarācārya of Śṛṅgēri. And Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, by virtue of his learning and piety, exercised much power in the management of the affairs of the maṭha. If Harihara could secure his support, he would be able to accomplish his desire without difficulty. Therefore, he paid a visit to the hermitage of the sage, who is said to have received him kindly and blessed him, thereby indicating that he had accepted Harihara as one of his disciples.

The reconversion of Harihara must have strengthened his position considerably. The Hindus could no longer oppose him on the ground that he was a Mussalman and an enemy of their nation and faith. The wind was thus taken off the sails of his enemies. He gathered an army and proceeded against the rebels under the command of Ballāḷa. A battle was fought, in which Harihara inflicted a crushing defeat over his enemies. His victory appears to have been decisive, for he was able to capture Ānegondi and make it the chief seat of his government. He felt so secure that, on the advice of Vidyāraṇya, he laid the foundations of a new capital called Vijayanagara (the city of victory) in commemoration of his triumph over his enemies in 1336 A. D. He established his mastery over the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā doab and pushed his frontier as far north as Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr district before 1339 A. D.

The following abbreviations are employed in the citation of references in this article.

E. C. Epigraphia Carnatica, by Louis Rice.

N. D. I. Nellore District Inscriptions, by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty.

S. I. I. South Indian Inscriptions.

E. D. The History of India, by Sir H. Elliot and John Dowson.

Mac. Mss. Govt. Or. Mss. Lib. The Mackenzie manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

POETRY AND RASA

BY

A. SANKARAN, M. A., PH. D.

Leo Tolstoy, in his admirable essay on Art, answers the question, "What is art ?", in these words:—

"To take a simple example: a boy having experienced, let us say, fear on encountering a wolf, relates that encounter, and in order to evoke in others the feeling he has experienced, describes himself, his condition before the encounter, the surroundings, the wood, his own lightheartedness, and then the wolf's appearance, its movements, the distance between himself and the wolf and so forth. All this, if only the boy when telling the story again experiences the feelings he has lived through, and infects the hearers and compels them to feel what he has experienced—is art. Even if the boy had not seen a wolf but had frequently been afraid of one, and if, in wishing to evoke in others the fear he had felt, he invented an encounter with a wolf and recounted it so as to make his hearers share the feelings he experienced when he feared the wolf, that also would be art. And just in the same way it is art if a man, having experienced either the fear of suffering or the attraction of enjoyment (whether in reality or in imagination), expresses these feelings on canvas or marble so that others are infected by them. And it is also art if a man feels or imagines to himself, feelings of delight, gladness, sorrow, despair, courage or despondency, and the transition from one to another of these feelings, and expresses them by sounds so that the hearers are infected by them and experience them as they were experienced by the composer. (p. 122. The World's Classics.)

"Again if only the spectators or auditors are infected by the feelings which the author has felt, it is art.

"To evoke in oneself a feeling one has once experienced and having evoked it in oneself then by means of movements, lines, colours, sounds or forms expressed in words, so to transmit that feeling that others experience the same feeling—this is the activity of art.

"Art is a human activity consisting in this, that one man consciously by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that others are infected by these feelings and experience them. (p. 123. The World's Classics.)

"If a man is infected with the author's condition of soul, if he feels this emotion and this union with others, then the object which has effected this is art............ And not only is infection a sure sign of art, but the degree of infectiousness is also the sole measure of excellence in art.

"The stronger the infection, the better is the art." (p. 228.)

It will be clear from the rather lengthy quotation made above that, according to one of the greatest modern thinkers on art, art, and particularly poetry, is the medium by which the poet communicates his feelings to his auditors. In other words, the poet is filled with the feelings evoked in him by the men and incidents that he has experienced actually in the world or only in his vivid imagination, and he feels also an inner urge to give expression to these feelings in a composition which infects the reader with the very same feelings which the poet himself has lived through. And such a creation is poetry.

Many centuries before Tolstoy, the same view of the rise of poetry found its expression in the very first of our classical poets —Vālmīki. The Śloka metre in Sanskrit has its origin in an incident in the life of Vālmīki which reveals also his view of the rise of poetry. The incident as related in the second canto of the Bālakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* runs thus: When Vālmīki went out to collect sacrificial wood and grass, he saw a happy pair of Krauñca birds, singing merrily on the branch of a tree. The male bird was suddenly shot dead with an arrow by a hunter. The merciful sage witnessed the innocent male bird weltering on the ground in his own blood. The bird who was bereaved of her loving mate, being vaguely conscious of the untold sufferings in store for her, sent forth a shriek of terror and agony; and at once the heart of the sage was smitten with a deep feeling of pity for her grief; and the intense pathos of the situation that filled his heart flowed out spontaneously in the form of that first Śloka in Sanskrit Mā niṣāda etc.

ततः करुणवेदित्वादधर्मोऽयमिति द्विजः ।
निशाम्य रुदतीं क्रौञ्चीमिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत् क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥ Bāla. II. 14-15.

"As you have killed, O hunter! one of the passionately loving pair of Krauñca birds, may you not live happily for many years." Vālmīki was struck with wonder at this first outburst of measured poetry; and he put to himself this question: What is this strange expression of measured poetry by me who never before wrote or even thought of such a verse? What is it that has occasioned this singular, free and almost involuntary flow of verse? And Vālmīki, through deep introspection and analysis of the state of his mind at the time of its utterance, discovered for this mystery a solution which he gave out to his pupils in these words:

पादबद्धोऽक्षरसमस्तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितः ।
शोकार्तस्य प्रवृत्तो मे श्लोको भवतु नान्यथा ॥ Bāla. II. 18.

"That which emanated from me who was smitten with grief and whose heart was filled with the pathos of the incident that I witnessed, shall be no other than measured, musical poetry." In other words, the wallowing of the dying bird in a pool of blood and the shrill shriek of terror and agony of the surviving female bird seized Vālmīki's imagination so forcefully and completely that they stirred his instinct of pathos to its very depths and raised it to a climax of emotion. And in a tense state of excitement Vālmīki realized to the exclusion of everything else this deep, intense feeling of pathos. This intense feeling of pathos by its very intensity has purged itself of the associations of pain felt in ordinary experience and has translated itself spontaneously in the verse Mā niṣāda etc.

This discovery of a solution to the question—what is it that induces the rise of poetry—makes us recognise in the poet Vālmīki a critic. He is no doubt a poet, as he visualises the various situations, enters into the feelings of the characters and probes the depths of the human heart and lays bare in his *Rāmāyaṇa* the innermost secrets of the soul. He is a critic as he realizes that it is the feelings roused by the situations, characters etc., that find relief in a song. And according to Vālmīki, poetry is the spontaneous expression of an intense feeling of pathos; and what is poetic inspiration but a certain climax of emotion finding an outlet in rhythmic language?

One may question the authenticity of the view of Vālmīki on the origin of poetry, on the basis of the conclusions of modern research. Scholars are of opinion that Kāṇḍas two to six and a part of the first alone form the *Rāmāyaṇa* actually composed by Vālmīki and that the rest of the *Rāmāyaṇa* including the second chapter of the Bālakāṇḍa, on which our remarks are based, represents a later addition. But whoever may have been the author of the second chapter of the Bālakāṇḍa, the fact that it is the record of a genuine tradition concerning an incident in the life of Vālmīki is borne out by an authority of no less antiquity and eminence than the greatest poet of India—Kālidāsa. Says he in the *Raghuvaṁśa*:

तामभ्यगच्छद्रुदितानुसारी कविः कुशेध्माहरणाय यातः ।
निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥ XIV. 70.

The context is this: Sītā was left alone in the forest by Lakṣmaṇa who had already communicated to her his brother's dreadful command about her repudiation and Sītā cried aloud cursing her fate. Just then Vālmīki, the merciful sage, who had gone out to collect sacrificial wood and grass heard the cry and proceeding in the direction from which it arose approached Sītā—

तामभ्यगच्छद्रुदितानुसारी कविः कुशेध्माहरणाय यातः ।

Note the manner in which Vālmīki is referred to—Kaviḥ, the poet *par excellence*. And who was that poet?

निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥

He whose grief shaped itself into a song, the grief that arose in him as he saw a bird shot dead by a hunter. He is the merciful sage whose heart was stirred to its depths at the sight of the pathetic bereavement of even a bird; and how much more should the sage have felt at the sad plight of Sītā, to whom Rāma was lost for ever. The analogy of the Krauñca incident to Sīta's exile which marks the climax of the dominant feeling of the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have greatly appealed to Kālidāsa, and as he was narrating the most pathetic incident in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, namely Sītā's repudiation and Vālmīki's meeting her, the poet's mind naturally flew at once to a similar incident in the life of Vālmīki which was the occasion for the spontaneous flow of poetry. I fully believe that the name Kaviḥ and the latter half of the verse are employed by the poet deliberately,

for, I ask, in what way would the narrative or the actual description of that particular incident suffer, if the word Muni were to be substituted for Kavi and if the latter half of the verse were to be completely omitted ?

तामभ्यगच्छद्रुदितानुसारी मुनिः कुशेध्माहरणाय यातः ।
तमश्रु नेत्रावरणं प्रमृज्य सीता विलापाद्विरता ववन्दे ॥ (71)

It proves clearly that Kālidāsa desired to record the tradition that he fully believed in, namely that it was in an inspired moment and in a state of tense excitement that Vālmīki's feelings found expression in poetry. He believed that it was in a similar state of inspiration and excitement far more intense and lasting that the Kavi, the poet *par excellence,* expressed his feelings in the poem in which is immortalised the story of Rāma and Sītā. And Kālidāsa's utterance is but an echo of what the Creator said to Vālmīki after this Krauñca incident.

शोचन्नेव मुहुः क्रौञ्चीमुपश्लोकमिमं पुनः ।
जगावन्तर्गतमना भूत्वा शोकपरायणः ॥
तमुवाच ततो ब्रह्मा प्रहसन् मुनिपुङ्गवम् ।
श्लोक एव त्वया बद्धो नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥
मच्छन्दादेव ते ब्रह्मन् प्रवृत्तेयं सरस्वती ।
रामस्य चरितं कृत्स्नं कुरु त्वम् ऋषिसत्तम ॥ Bāla. II. 29-31.

"It was out of my supreme will that this measured speech sprang from you." In other words, it was when Vālmīki realized the divine in him that poetry flowed out of his lips. And Vālmīki is commanded to write the story of Rāma and is blessed with the 'vision and the faculty divine'.

रहस्यं च प्रकाशं च यद्वृत्तं तस्य धीमतः ।
रामस्य सहसौमित्रेः राक्षसानां च सर्वशः ॥
वैदेह्याश्चैव यद्वृत्तं प्रकाशं यदि वा रहः ।
तच्चाप्यविदितं सर्वं विदितं ते भविष्यति ॥ Bāla. II. 33-34.

The above lines say that through divine grace Vālmīki will have insight into the hidden springs of the actions of all the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* What is the significance of this statement ? It is that Vālmīki had nothing short of a divine intuition when he composed the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Otherwise it would not have been possible for him to have composed the great epic. In

other words, all great poetry emanates only in a state of divine inspiration.

यद्यद्विभूतिमत्सत्त्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोंऽशसम्भवम् ॥ Bha. gītā. X. 41.

"Whatever is great, O Arjuna, know that to be a part of my splendour." As though conscious of this divine inspiration, the poet has prophesied to the world the eternal and universal appeal of the *Rāmāyaṇa* :—

यावत् स्थास्यन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च महीतले ।
तावद्रामायणकथा लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति ॥ Bāla. II. 36.

And this prophecy unlike similar prophecies has been proved true by the verdict of Time.

Now what is Vālmīki's reply to the question—What is art? or in a restricted sphere, what is poetry? That is poetry where the poet gives expression to the feelings which any event kindles in him. How is this related to the view of Tolstoy? Tolstoy says that the poet is first moved by the feelings roused by some event and he expresses those feelings in what is called a work of art which in turn infects the auditor with those very same feelings. Vālmīki's view is identical with Tolstoy's in this respect, namely that it is the feelings of the poet that find expression in a composition. Vālmīki omitted to say that this composition in turn infects the hearer with the same feelings that have occasioned its origin. This may be implied in the former half of the view expressed by Vālmīki, but it must be admitted that the actual words of Vālmīki do not warrant the assumption of such an implication.

The other aspect of the conception of poetry, namely, that it should infect the hearers with the feelings of the poet, is not at all foreign to Sanskrit poetics, and we may even say that it runs through the very heart of Sanskrit criticism. We have only to consider for a moment the meaning of the name given to a critic in Sanskrit—Sahṛdaya—. It is explained thus by Abhinavagupta:

येषां काव्यानुशीलनाभ्यासवशाद् विशदीभूते मनोमुकुरे वर्णनीय-तन्मयीभवनयोग्यता ते हृदयसंवादभाजः सहृदयाः ।

Locana on the Dhvanyāloka, p. 11 (N.S. Edn.).

"They are Sahṛdayas whose minds, by the constant study of poetry, become as transparent as a mirror and acquire the capacity to reflect within themselves the true image of what is expressed in a composition and whose minds have become attuned as it were to that of the poet." In other words, when a person is constantly engaged in the pursuit of poetry, his mind acquires the capacity of easy, quick and complete understanding; and his mind develops also a keen responsiveness to feelings from without. By his imaginative sympathy, he loses his personality for the time being by identifying himself with what is described; and his mind attains a complete harmony with that of the poet. Those whose minds have attained this complete agreement—Hṛdaya saṁvāda or complete attunement of mind with that of the poet are Sahṛdayas. When it is said that the mind of the poet and that of the critic are attuned to each other, what does it mean except this ? The critic or the intelligent reader of a poem has the same experience as the poet himself had when he composed the poem. In other words, the reader experiences the same feelings that the poet himself lived through, or the reader is infected with the feelings of the poet. It is said "Art is the expression of aesthetic experience." Art has a twofold purpose: from the poet's point of view, 'it is to transform his experience into expression'. From the recipient's point of view, 'it is to transform his experience into experience'. Thus the artist transfers his experience to the recipient. The one without the other does not and cannot exist. They are only the obverse and the reverse of a coin. Therefore the poet's purpose does not end with the mere recording of his experience; it is fulfilled only when this experience is received by the critic. And the critic is a critic only when he receives this experience of the poet through his poem. Thus the poet and the critic together represent the one entity revealed through poetry. Truly has Abhinavagupta invoked thus:—

'सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयतात्' Locana, p. 1.

May that one reality, truth or essence—Tattva—of all noble utterance called Kavi-Sahṛdaya, poet-critic, prosper ! Appropriately indeed has this inseparable union of poet and critic been compared to Ardhanārīśvara by my *Guru*—Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastri—in the opening verse of his *Upalocana*:—

परस्परसमास्वादप्रथमानसतत्त्वयोः ।
कविताबुधयोर्योगं नमामि शिवयोर्यथा ॥

With deep insight and experience, Tolstoy says: "The chief peculiarity of this feeling is that the recipient of a truly artistic impression is so united to the artist that he feels as if the work were his own and not some one else's—as if what it expresses were just what he has long been wishing to express." (p. 228.)

Now what is our position at this stage regarding the question: what is poetry? That is poetry by which the reader is infected with the feelings of the poet and is one with him. Now, a further question may be raised: How is the reader to be infected with the feelings of the poet? Or how does the poet communicate his feeling or aesthetic experience to the reader? What is the activity of the poet in achieving his purpose or end of communicating his feeling to the reader?

This has been satisfactorily answered, I believe, by the theory of Rasa put forward by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* and fully expounded by his followers, particularly Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. It is stated in a nutshell in the Sūtra of Bharata:—

विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ।

The terms Vibhāva, Anubhāva, Vyabhicāribhāva, Sthāyibhāva and Rasa require elucidation.

I. *Rasa.*

Rasa primarily means the aesthetic pleasure or joy that an intelligent and responsive audience experiences when witnessing a drama enacted by highly talented actors, or the joy experienced in reading a great poem or a moving story. This is almost the same as the experience of the feeling which, as Tolstoy says, the reader is infected with. And whatever may be the nature of the feeling in the ordinary experience of the world, in poetry its realization is always pleasant.

II. *Sthāyibhāva.*

Sthāyibhāvas are the permanent instinctive impressions of the different emotions or feelings such as Love, Pathos, Humour, Heroism, Anger, Fear etc. We believe in the immortality of the soul and the doctrine of transmigration. Every infant, as it is born, has within it the instinctive impres-

sions, though vague, of experiences in previous births. For, otherwise, why does the newborn babe suck its mother's milk? Whoever has taught the child that by sucking the milk, its life will be sustained? Every infant has indeed all the potentialities of the fully developed man, lying dormant. That is why probably even our Smṛtikāras apply this view to practical life and lay down the principle of Hindu law that the infant son acquires a right to inherit the property of his father even ten months before he ever sees the light of day. Modern psychologists also say that the child is a bundle of instincts. And these instincts or instinctive impressions respond or react to outside influences. The postulate of the existence of these instinctive impressions of emotions or emotional states is firmly based. Among these, the permanent and universal emotional states are eight or nine—Love, Grief, Heroism, Anger, Fear, Humour etc. These permanent emotional states are called in Sanskrit Sthāyibhāvas.

In ordinary worldly experience, these permanent emotional moods are called forth and kindled by certain causes such as—in the case of Love—the object of one's love and by certain excitants like the spring, moonlight etc.; they are developed by certain visible effects of love such as the sportive movement of the eyebrow, sidelong glances etc.; they are also intensified by certain fugitive, accessory feelings that do not endure long, such as anxiety, doubt, langour etc., and then comes the final stage—the fulfilment of love. As these very same causes, effects and accessory feelings of the emotional states pass through the crucible of the creative genius of the poet, and appear newly fashioned in a poem or a play they acquire the new names, Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas respectively.

Let me now illustrate them from a well-known play, the Śākuntala. Vibhāvas are of two kinds: Ālambana and Uddīpana. Ālambanas are the objects of emotional states. As regards Love which is the dominant Rasa, Śakuntalā is the *Ālambana* of Duṣyanta's love, and Duṣyanta, of Śakuntalā's.

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।
सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥ I. 20.

"Undoubtedly this Śakuntalā is fit to be the wife of a Kṣattriya, since my noble heart longs for her; in matters of doubt, the disposition of the minds is, to the good, an unerring guide."

Here Duṣyanta is struck with the beauty of Śakuntalā, but being the custodian of law he, a Kṣattriya, naturally thinks of the obstacle in the way of his desire, namely that Śakuntalā might be the daughter of the Brahmin sage and hence could not be married by him, a Kṣattriya. But his love sways him and he really wishes that she were born to the sage by a woman of a different caste:—

अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसम्भवा स्यात् । Act. I.

At once he casts away his doubt saying that he can marry her, in the assurance that his pure, just and loving heart is set on her. This represents the Ālambana of Duṣyanta's love. On the side of Śakuntalā also there is the same natural springing of love expressed by the poet thus:

शकुन्तला—(आत्मगतम्) किं नु खल्विमं प्रेक्ष्य तपोवनविरोधिनो विकारस्य गमनीयास्मि संवृत्ता ।

"(To herself) How is it, indeed, that on seeing this person, (Duṣyanta), I have become susceptible to an emotion inconsistent with life in the penance forest ?" This represents the Ālambana of Śakuntalā's love.

Uddīpana-Vibhāvas, as I said, are the excitants of love. The gentle breeze blowing, Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta meet under the cool shade of the penance grove which abounds in beautiful creepers, plants, flowers etc. This again may be illustrated thus: When Śakuntalā is intently gazing at the Navamālikā creeper full of flowers, which has been christened by her Vanajyotsnā, and which has grown over the mango tree, her friends indulge in this conversation:

प्रियंवदा—अनसूये ! जानासि, किं शकुन्तला वनज्योत्स्नाम् अतिमात्रं पश्यतीति ?

"Anasūya, do you know why Śakuntalā is looking so very attentively at Vanajyotsnā?"

अनसूया—न खलु विभावयामि; कथय ।

"No, I cannot conceive it; pray tell me."

प्रियंवदा—यथा वनज्योत्स्ना अनुरूपेण पादपेन सङ्गता, अपि नामैवमहमपि आत्मनोऽनुरूपं वरं लभेयेति ।

"As Vanajyotsnā clings to a tree worthy of it, so may I, too, get a suitable lover."

शकुन्तला—एष नूनं तवान्तर्गतो मनोरथः ।

"Certainly this must be the desire of your own heart."

This occurs before Śakuntalā meets the king. If indeed the beauty of Nature should rouse such thoughts of love in the heart of the unsophisticated girl of the hermitage who has all along been only in the company of her friends, how much more an excitant of love would that pleasant garden be in the presence of her lover!

III. Anubhāvas are certain outward manifestations of feelings or the ensuants and the effects of love. For example, consider the verse:—

दर्भाङ्कुरेण चरणः क्षत इत्यकाण्डे
तन्वी स्थिता कतिचिदेव पदानि गत्वा ।
आसीद्विवृत्तवदना च विमोचयन्ती
शाखासु वल्कलमसक्तमपि द्रुमाणाम् ॥ II. 12.

As Śakuntalā departs after her first meeting with Duṣyanta, she behaves as described in the above verse. Duṣyanta says in Act II thus:

"Having gone only a few steps, the slim lady suddenly stopped, feigning that her foot was pricked by a blade of *darbha*; and she stood with her face turned (towards me) pretending to disentangle her bark garment, though it was not caught in the branches of the plants." Here the stealing of a glance at her lover is the visible manifestation of Śakuntalā's love—Anubhāva.

IV. Vyabhicāribhāvas are certain accessory and evanescent feelings that come and go. They are many and a few may be illustrated here: Glāni or emaciation or langour, Nirveda or melancholy, Jaḍatā or dullness, Śaṅkā or doubt and fear and Harṣa or gladness.

Glāni Śak. III:

प्रियंवदा—सखि शकुन्तले ! सुष्ठु एषा भणति । किमात्मन आतङ्कमुपेक्षसे । अनुदिवसं खलु परिहीयसेऽङ्गैः । केवलं लावण्यमयी छाया त्वां न मुञ्चति ।

राजा—क्षामक्षामकपोलमाननं etc.

Priyaṁvadā: "Friend, Anasūya speaks well; why do you neglect the affliction of your mind? Day by day, you are becoming emaciated; only the glow of loveliness does not leave you."

The King: "Truly said; for her face and her cheeks have grown thin; her complexion is pale etc."

प्रियंवदा—ननु स राजर्षिरस्यां स्निग्धदृष्टया सूचिताभिलाषः एतान् दिवसान् प्रजागरकृशो लक्ष्यते ।

Pri.: "Indeed, that royal sage whose affectionate looks indicate his longing for her looks lean nowadays on account of sleeplessness."

2. Nirveda: melancholy or despondency:

शकुन्तला—सखि ! यतः प्रभृति मम दर्शनपथमागतः स तपोवनरक्षिता राजर्षिः, तत आरभ्य तद्गतेन अभिलाषेण एतदवस्थास्मि संवृत्ता । तद्यदि वामनुमतं तथा वर्तेथां यथा तस्य राजर्षेरनुकम्पनीया भवामि । अन्यथा सिञ्चतं मे तिलोदकम् ।

Śakuntalā: "Friend, ever since that royal sage, defender of the penance grove, came within the range of my sight, on account of my longings for him I have been reduced to this state. So if you approve of it, do that by which I may be pitied by the royal sage; or else, offer me the sesame-mixed water" *i.e.* look upon me as dead.

3. Jaḍatā: dullness.

सख्यौ—हला शकुन्तले ! अपि सुखायते ते नलिनीपत्रवातः ?

शकुन्तला—किं वीजयतो मां सख्यौ ?

The Friends: "Śakuntalā, does the breeze from the fan of the lotus-leaf soothe you."

Śakuntalā: "What! Are my friends fanning me?"

4. Śaṅkā: doubt and fear of repulse.

When Śakuntalā is advised by her friends to think of a love-letter which they offer to deliver into the hands of Duṣyanta, concealed in flowers under the pretext of bestowing on him the favour of the deity, Śakuntalā says:

हला चिन्तयाम्यहम् । अवधीरणाभीरु वेपते मे हृदयम् ।

'Friend, I shall think; but my heart trembles, afraid of a repulse.'

5. Harṣa or gladness:

At once the king expresses his delight to himself thus:

अयं स ते तिष्ठति सङ्गमोत्सुको
विशङ्कसे भीरु यतोऽवधीरणाम् ।

लभेत वा प्रार्थयिता न वा श्रियं
श्रिया दुरापः कथमीप्सितो भवेत् ॥ III. 12.

"Here stands he, longing for union with you from whom, Oh timid one! you fear a repulse. He who seeks Lakṣmī may or may not attain her, but can that person sought by Lakṣmī be inaccessible to her?"

It will be seen that all the feelings illustrated above last only for a while and are not enduring; and all of them achieve the one purpose of intensifying the permanent emotional state,—here Love or Rati. This fact of the changing nature of the Vyabhicāribhāvas which feed the main emotion finds apt expression in Kālidāsa. It is expressed in the Parivrājikā's appreciation of Mālavikā's dance:—

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः
पादन्यासो लयमनुगतस्तन्मयत्वं रसेषु ।
शाखायोनिर्मृदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ
भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव ॥ II. 8.

Here for our present purpose it would be enough if we pay our attention to the last line alone. It means: In the successive stages of the acting, each emotion arising as it does from its source—the Sthāyibhāva, yields place to every successive wave of emotion; still the interest is the same: This will be clear if we consider the following verse of which the above is her appreciation.

दुर्लभः प्रियस्तस्मिन् भव हृदय निराशं
अहो अपाङ्गको मे प्रस्फुरति किमपि वामकः ।
एष स चिरदृष्टः कथमुपनेतव्यः
नाथ मां पराधीनां त्वयि गणय सतृष्णाम् ॥

Here Mālavikā is singing and expressing the ideas contained in this verse by appropriate gestures. It has been translated thus:—'My lover is difficult to obtain; Oh my heart, cherish no hopes about him. Oh ! the outer corner of my left eye throbs on some account or other; here is he seen after a long time; how is he to be approached? My lord, know me, in this, my state of dependence, to be ardently longing for thee ! Here Mālavikā is giving an indirect expression to her love for the king, and in fact

this is an indirect address to the king, Agnimitra. In the first line 'My lover is difficult to obtain; Oh my heart, cherish no hopes about him', there is the feeling of despair or despondency—Nirveda. In the second line 'Oh, the outer corner of my left eye throbs on some account or other' there is gladness coupled with wonder; for, the throbbing of the left eye augurs something good for women; hence there is wonder, for she does not know what good fortune awaits her; and there is gladness at the thought that it might be the fulfilment of her hopes. In the third line 'here is he seen after a long time; how is he to be approached' is indicated 'cintā' or anxiety, in finding the means for the fulfilment of her desire. In the fourth line 'My lord, know me, in this, my state of dependence, to be ardently longing for thee' there is *dainya* or dejection as she is not mistress of herself. It will be clear from this that every one of these feelings gives place to every other successive feeling in turn, all of them rooted in the one permanent emotional state: love. And the pleasure derived continues to be the same.

'भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव' अभिनीयमानो भावः, विषयात् स्थायिनः, पूर्वाभिनीतं भावं नुदति, अपाकरोति । रञ्जकत्वयोगस्तु तादृश एव । *Commentary*. (Sri Vani Vilas Edn.)

These transient feelings are called Vyabhicāri or Sañcāribhāvas.

When the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas appropriate to the emotional state or Sthāyibhāva—here love—are portrayed in a poem or are represented on the stage by talented actors aided by costume, scenes, music etc., what happens is this. The dormant emotional state of the audience, *viz.*, love, is called forth, kindled, and intensified to such a climax that the audience, through their imaginative sympathy lose themselves, forget all differences of person, time and place and completely attune themselves to what is portrayed or represented. And this climax of emotion reveals itself in a sort of blissful consciousness. This bliss is *Rasa.*

Now in the realization of this *Rasa* a question may be asked, whose feeling is it that is realized? Is it of the characters, the poet, the actors or the audience? Writers on Poetics say that a unification of the feelings of all these is effected in the performance of a play, though of course the feeling of the actors has no place in a poem. The feelings of the characters are first experi-

enced by the poet in his imagination and his experience of them is communicated through the poem to the readers who again have a similar experience. Thus the feelings of all are united and at the final stage, it is the feelings of the audience or the reader that are realized in a state of bliss.

Thus it will be seen that the aim of all poetry is the realization of this *Rasa*—call it by any name, bliss, joy or aesthetic pleasure. And the activity of the poet consists in the selection, representation and harmonious blending of such Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas as would lend themselves most naturally and invariably to the development and realization of this *Rasa*. Says Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyaktiviveka*, p. 20.

कविव्यापारो हि विभावादिसंयोजनात्मा रसाभिव्यक्त्यव्यभिचारी काव्यमुच्यते ।

All the features of a work of art—whether a poem or a play —the unity of the 'fable' or plot, the progress of the action, the greatness of the greaters, their characters truth to life, the different styles, diction, poetic qualities, figures of speech, metres etc., must tend only towards the unity of atmosphere or impression or the *Rasa* as we call it. And every one of the characteristics of poetry mentioned above must be related to and directed towards the realization of Rasa. And if critics were to say that they had seen the very soul of poetry in the numerous poetic excellences mentioned above either severally or in combination, without any reference whatever to the unity of impression or *Rasa*, they would be only reminding us of the familiar fable of the 'Seven Blind Men and the Elephant.'

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THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI—CHRONOLOGY.

BY

DR. P. SREENIVASACHAR, M.A., PH.D. (*London*).
Bezwada.

There were several ruling families in Southern India who claimed to belong to the Yādava family, but the Seuṇa or Sēvaṇa family has come to be particularly associated with this name. The history of the Seuṇa family goes back right into the middle of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule. But it was only in the time of Bhillama that the Yādavas came into some importance. It was in Bhillama's reign that the city of Devagiri was built, although it does not seem to have attained prominence as the capital city till the reign of Siṅghaṇa.

The initial date of the founder's rule is usually a point of considerable obscurity in the history of any new dynasty. In this case, although the Seuṇas were no new dynasty, and had already ruled as the feudatories of the Western Cāḷukyas, it is difficult to say when exactly Bhillama threw off the yoke and asserted independence. It is futile to look for any formal announcement or positive indication for the establishment of sovereignty by a feudatory prince when he grows independent. The constitutional position of feudatories in Medieval India is quite different from what the term connotes at the present day; and so it is essential to remember at the outset that feudatories at that time generally enjoyed great powers and ruled their territories in virtual independence. They could even make war or conclude peace with foreign powers, without any reference to the central power, especially if the central power happened to be weak. So the change from a state of nominal subordination to one of independence is very slight and merely formal. Such was the position of the Yādavas towards the end of the Western Cāḷukya regime. It is needless to go into details as to the various factors underlying the downfall of the Western Cāḷukyan power and the rise of the independent Devagiri kingdom. But we may note briefly that the Yādavas, even like the Kākatīyas and the Hoysālas, were occupying a somewhat anomalous posi-

tion in the Western Cāḷukya kingdom during the Kalacuri interregnum. Bhillama's father Mallugi fought against Vijjana who was obviously the Kalacuri usurper Bijjala, and the resuscitation of the Cāḷukyan rule by Someśvara IV does not seem to have instilled any greater spirit of loyalty into the hearts of these Yādavas, any more than it did in the case of the Hoysālas. No doubt it was actually the Hoysāla ruler Vīra-Bhallāla that took the field against his sovereign Someśvara and his general Bomma. But the Yādavas were not slow to take advantage of the excellent opportunity now afforded, and soon carved out an independent kingdom for themselves. The last date of Vīra-Someśvara so far known is Śaka 1111, that is A. D. 1189. We have inscriptions of Bhillama even before that date which have been issued without any mention of his sovereign. The Sūkti-muktāvaḷī states that Bhillama 'led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gurjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna.'[1] Hemādri adds that 'he captured a town of the name of Śrīvardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle Pratyaṇḍaka, put to death the ruler of Maṅgaḷaveṣṭaka of the name of Billaṇa, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa put to death the lord of Hosala.'[2] It is not necessary here to discuss the merits of these claims. But it is essential to note here that whether each individual claim for distinction be justifiable or not, Bhillama, as the founder of a new independent kingdom, must have had a lot of trouble which would have engaged his attention for a longer period of time than four years usually assigned to his rule. However, as already pointed out, it is futile to base the date of the beginning of his independent rule even on the independent nature of his foreign policy. Nor is there any greater justification to reckon the commencement of his rule from the date of the building of the city of Devagiri, some time 'about the Śaka year 1109.' The building of this capital city must have been the culmination of his victorious career and not the commencement.

Even a study of his inscriptions does not help us to fix the initial date of his reign with any certainty. There are 10 ins-

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1. *Vide* Early History of the Dekkan, by R. G. Bhandarkar, Third Edition, p. 184 f.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

criptions of Bhillama available so far, only two of which give the full details of the date. A third inscription from Halluru is damaged, and has lost the name of the month. But judging from the synchronism of the date and the *tithi* it must be either adhika-Śrāvaṇa or Mārgaśira. The dates of these three inscriptions are as follows:—

(1) Inscription from Muttigi,[1] Bagevadi taluk, Bijapur district. Dated 8th regnal year, Paridhāvi, Śrāvaṇa śu. Punnami, Thursday. The date does not work out satisfactorily, since Punnami fell on a Sunday and not on a Thursday in that month. The Department of Epigraphy suggests that the name of the year is probably a mistake for Pramādi. If the suggestion is accepted, the date works out satisfactorily, and corresponds to Thursday, the 15th of July, A.D. 1193.

(2) Inscription from Annigeri,[2] Navalgund taluk, Dharwar district. Dated 3rd regnal year, Saumya, Puṣya ba. Amāvāsyā, Monday, Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti, Vyatīpāta. The saṅkrānti did not fall on Puṣya Amāvāsyā, but on Puṣya ba. Pāḍyami. The date then corresponds to Monday the 25th of December, A.D. 1189.

(3) Inscription from Halluru,[3] Muddabihal taluk, Bijapur district. Dated 2nd regnal year, Kīlakā, ... Amāvāsyā, Monday, Vyatīpāta. In that year Amāvāsyā fell on Monday in two months, namely adhika-Śrāvaṇa and Mārgaśira. The date should therefore correspond either to the 25th of June, A.D. 1188, or the 19th December, A.D. 1188 respectively.

Calculating on the basis of the assumption that regnal years given are current, we find that the Annigere and the Halluru inscriptions agree in fixing A. D. 1187 as the initial year of the rule of Bhillama. To be precise, his reign must have commenced on some day not earlier than the 26th of December, A.D. 1186, and not later than the 19th of December, A.D. 1187. The later limit might be pushed farther back and fixed as the 25th of July, A. D. 1187 if we accept adhika-Śrāvaṇa as the month intended. But the Muttigi inscription does not agree with the above conclusion, and it gives a date about one year earlier than the above, even if we accept the suggestion of the Department of

1. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 108 of 1930.
2. *Ibid.*, 192 of 1929.
3. *Ibid.*, 18 of 1930.

Epigraphy. If we accept the date as given in the inscription, it would assign the beginning of his reign to some period between A. D. 1184 and A. D. 1185.

The discrepancy is easily understood if we remember that there seems to have been some trouble in connection with Bhillama's accession to power. Hemādri says,[1]

महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्रान् गुणानुरक्ता यदुवंशलक्ष्मीः ।
श्रीभिल्लमं तस्य ततः पितृव्यमव्याजराजद्भुजमाजगाम ॥

It is clear that Bhillama wrested the power from its rightful owners, and that none too easily, since after his eldest brother, Amaragāṅgeya, his son Govindarāja, Bhillama's second brother Amaramallugi, and then Ballāla (probably Amaramallugi's son), all ruled before he came to power. It is not likely that Bhillama, if he had really coveted the throne, would have sat by watching his brothers and nephews come to the throne one after the other, until he was quite old, and then suddenly set out on a career of conquest. He might have been loyal to the throne during the reign of his elder brother Amaragāṅgeya, and his son Govindarāja. Perhaps he was quite young at that time. It is not clear why this line did not continue, what led to the accession of Amaramallugi, and what actually were the relations between Amaramallugi and Bhillama. Jalhaṇa says that Bhillama frightened the forces of a certain person called Mailugi[2]. Who was this Mailugi? Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that "he probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family."[3] We do not know of the existence of any such 'minor' branch of the Yādava family; but it seems probable that this Mailugi was no other than Amaramallugi, from whose grand-children Bhillama wrested the Yādava power. It is clear therefore that Bhillama's fortune was not secured at a single stroke, and that although he usually reckoned the commencement of his reign from about A. D. 1187, there might have been some important incident which served as some slight basis for giving an earlier date for the commencement of his

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1. Introduction to Vrata-khaṇḍa, v. 37.

2. *Vide* Introduction of Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvaḷi, v. 13, quoted in Early History of the Dekkan, p. 185. The actual wording runs as follows:—

मल्लः पल्लवितोरुभीतिरभितस्त्रस्यद्बलो मैलुगिः ।

3. *Vide* Early History of the Dekkan, p. 185, fn. 4.

reign. The regnal year given in the Muttigi inscription is justifiable only on the basis of such an explanation.

Even the last date of Bhillama's reign does not admit of a definite decision. Both Fleet and Bhandarkar assign A. D. 1191 as the date of his death and the accession of his son Jaitrapāla. But apart from the Muttigi inscription dated the 15th of July, A. D. 1193 already quoted above, we have two inscriptions from Hippargi [1] and Bhairavadgi [2] to show that he must have ruled till the very end of the year A. D. 1191, and that his son could not have succeeded him earlier than A. D. 1192. The Bhairavadgi inscription is dated in Śaka 1114, Virodhikṛt, Puṣya śu. Aṣṭamī, Wednesday, Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti. The Saṅkramaṇa fell on the next day, but otherwise the date works out satisfactorily, and corresponds to Wednesday the 25th of December, A. D. 1191. Besides this inscription, we have the evidence of the Lokkigundi[3] inscription itself dated in Śaka 1114 or A. D. 1192, which states that Jaitasiṁha was 'the right arm of Bhillama' in a certain battle[4], and thus implicates that Bhillama

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1. Dynasties of the Kanarese districts, by J. F. Fleet, 1892, p. 72.
2. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1 of 1931.
3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, p. 300.
4. This Jaitasiṁha is taken to be the same as Jaitugi, or Jaitrapāla, the son and successor of Bhillama. But there is no confirmatory evidence to show that Jaitugi was also called Jaitrasiṁha, and there is absolutely no other basis for such an identification, apart from the similarity in a part of the name. The manner in which Jaitasiṁha is referred to in the Gadag inscription does not show that he was Bhillama's son. The actual verse runs as follows:—

तस्यास्ति जैतसिंहाख्यः शक्तित्रयसमन्वितः ।
अतर्क्यविक्रमो मन्त्री मण्डलेश्वरवृश्चिकः ॥

(He has a minister called Jaitasiṁha, (who is) endowed with the three constituents of regal power; whose prowess was surpassing thought, and who was a scorpion to rulers of districts.)

There is nothing in the wording itself to suggest that he was Bhillama's son and heir-apparent. It is strange that such marked silence should have been observed regarding this important point, especially in the eloquent inscriptions of the enemies, the Hoysā-

was alive in A. D. 1192. It is even possible that Bhillama himself took part in this campaign, although on account of his advanced age he could not have taken an active part. Bhillama's Gadag inscription[1] dated the 23rd July, A. D. 1191 shows that he had come down south and was present at Gadag about the middle of A. D. 1191. Evidently it was the Yādavas that took the offensive this time, and the battle of Lokkigundi was the result of a vigorous defensive on the part of the Hoysālas.

An inscription of the Hoysāla king Narasiṁha II gives a graphic account of a battle between him and a certain Seuṇ or Sevaṇa, whom he besieged and defeated at Soratur near Gadag, and pursued from there as far as Kṛṣṇavēṇṇā, 'where he slew him.'[2] Fleet opines that he was probably the commander-in-chief of Jaitugi's army[3]. It is clear that this incident formed part of the same campaign in which the Yādavas of Devagiri were defeated at Lokkigundi and lost Kuntala. An inscription of Ballāla II at Gadag dated the 21st or November, A. D. 1192 shows that all this region, which Bhillama had acquired before A. D. 1191 (23rd June), was reconquered by Ballāla II before the latter date.[4] The reign of the Hoysāla king Narasiṁha II saw the recovery of all the lost territory by the Yādavas, and Narasiṁha II seems to have made absolutely no attempt to come north of the Tuṅgabhadrā river. So this particular incident, namely the siege of Soratur by Narasiṁha and his victory over the Sevaṇa could have occurred only in his father's reign, about the same time that the battle of Lokkigundi was fought. It may be tentatively suggested that the forces of Devagiri were really in two

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las, who would naturally have been anxious to make much of the defeat of the heir-apparent, if he really was the person. Besides there is a great inconsistency in stating that this "right arm of Bhillama" was the same person as Jaitrapāla, who contented himself merely with the performance of a sacrifice and the burning of an effigy, without avenging his father's misfortunes and recovering lost territory from the Hoysālas. It seems probable that this Jaitasiṁha was only a mantrin or probably the commander-in-chief of Bhillama, and was entrusted with the main charge of the expedition.

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 217 ff.
2. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 68.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
4. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 300.

divisions, the major part of them with Jaitasiṁha near Lokkigundi, and the other in Soratur under the command probably of Bhillama himself. Anyhow Bhillama must have received too severe a shock on account of this tragic defeat to survive for long after this. He probably died not long after, in A. D. 1192.

Very few inscriptions of Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, Bhillama's successor, have come to light so far, and only one of them is dated. It is a stone inscription from Bijapur[1] and is dated in his 6th regnal year, Śaka 1118 (expired), Anala, Puṣya-māsa, corresponding to December, A. D. 1196. This would assign to his accession a date not later than December, A. D. 1191. There is an inscription of Bhillama himself dated the 25th of December, A. D. 1191.[2] It is not improbable that before setting out on his southern expedition Bhillama probably appointed his son as successor, which might have served as a cause for Jaitrapāla to reckon the period of his rule from that time, especially since Bhillama died not long after.

We know very little about the reign of Jaitrapāla, and even the date of his death is uncertain. It has been assumed on the basis of some of the records of Siṅghaṇa, that Siṅghaṇa came to the throne about A. D. 1210, and that Jaitrapāla must have therefore remained as the ruler till that time. But unfortunately the initial year of Siṅghaṇa's rule is itself a matter for considerable doubt, and needs to be thoroughly discussed.

Fleet opined that Siṅghaṇa came to the throne in Śaka 1131, the Śukla saṁvatsara, corresponding to A. D. 1209-1210.[3] Bhandarkar places his accession a year later in Śaka 1132,[4] corresponding to A. D. 1210-11. Since it is fairly definite from his own inscriptions and those of his successor, that he died and was succeeded by Kṛṣṇa in A. D. 1247, this gives Siṅghaṇa a reign of 38 years according to Fleet, and 37 years according to Bhandarkar. But there are several strong objections against the dates of both Fleet and Bhandarkar. Firstly, we have several inscriptions bearing the regnal years 39, 40, 42, 45 and 49. Since there are no inscriptions of Siṅghaṇa after A. D. 1247, and since we have definite evidence that Kṛṣṇa was ruling after that date, we can-

1. Carnata Desa Inscriptions.
2. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1 of 1931.
3. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 72.
4. Early History of the Dekkan, p. 187.

not possibly calculate the dates of these inscriptions with high regnal years on the basis of the initial years of the reign assigned to him by Fleet and Bhandarkar. Siṅghaṇa's last date cannot possibly be later than A. D. 1247, in which case his accession basing on the evidence of these inscriptions must have taken place much earlier than A.D. 1209-10, or A. D. 1210-11. The second important objection against the dates of Fleet and Bhandarkar is the existence of Siṅghaṇa's inscriptions with dates much earlier than A. D. 1209-10,[1] or 1210-11. It is not possible to suggest that nearly a dozen of these inscriptions are forgeries, and some explanation must be offered for the existence of such weighty evidence of a conflicting nature. A third important objection is in the fact that many of Siṅghaṇa's inscriptions bear regnal years on the basis of which we get an early date for his accession—a date earlier than that assigned by Fleet by about a decade. A fourth objection presents itself in explaining Siṅghaṇa's attack on the Silāhāra prince Bhoja,[2] and the conquest of the Silāhāra kingdom. The particular Bhoja referred to can only be Bhoja II, since the other Silāhāra prince of that name was nearly a century earlier than Siṅghaṇa's time. According to Fleet, this prince, Bhoja II, ruled between Śaka 1100 and 1131.[3] But actually his inscriptions are available only up to Śaka 1115. Even admitting that Bhoja II was alive in A.D. 1127, as shown by a note at the end of the Śabdārṇava-candrikā of Somadeva, composed in that year, it looks as though Fleet was basing the last date of Bhoja II on the uncertain foundation of the date of Siṅghaṇa's accession. In the light of other weighty evidence it seems logical to conclude that Siṅghaṇa must have come to the throne much earlier than A. D. 1209 or 1210.

A careful scrutiny of 34 dated inscriptions of Siṅghaṇa giving both the regnal years and the usual details of the date reveals the fact that there are several dates for the commencement of Siṅghaṇa's reign. One inscription from Elevala[4] (Shimoga

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1. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 552 of 1915; 264 of 1928; 51 of 1929; and 55 of 1929.

2. Pāli, Sanskrit and Old Prākṛt Inscriptions, No. 112, 1-10-11.

3. *Vide* Genealogical table facing p. 104 in Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.

4. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VIII, sb. 397.

district) dated 14th April, A. D. 1241, claims to be of the 49th year of Siṅghaṇa, which would place his accession some time between 15th April, A. D. 1192 and 14th May, A. D. 1193. Two inscriptions from Hebbal[1] and Badgi[2] dated 27th November, A. D. 1239 and 26th September, A. D. 1242 respectively, would place his accession some time between 28th November, A. D. 1197 and 25th November, A. D. 1198. As many as 9 inscriptions ranging in dates from A. D. 1208 to A. D. 1239, prove that Siṅghaṇa's accession must have taken place some time between 26th December, A. D. 1199 and 6th (or 19th) February, A. D. 1200. This date has in fact the largest number of inscriptions in its support. One inscription from Sarur,[3] dated 27th June, A. D. 1211, narrowly misses falling into this group by indicating a date for his accession later than the above by at least 4 months. An inscription fron Devarabetta[4] in the Bellary district, and another from Mallur[5] in Dharwar district, yield 1205-06 and 1206-07 respectively. Fleet's approximate date of 1208-09 is supported by 5 inscriptions which indicate a period of 7 months between 27th July, A. D. 1208 and 28th February, A. D. 1209, during which the accession could have taken place. Six inscriptions take it a little later, to a period between 26th December, A. D. 1209 and 13th March, A. D. 1210, while 5 other inscriptions seem to support Bhandarkar's contention by assigning his accession to a date in a period of 8 months between 11th July, A. D. 1210 and 4th March, A.D. 1211.

Roughly speaking, Siṅghaṇa's inscriptions can be divided into two classes from the point of view of the date of accession they assign. The first assigns a date between 26th December, A. D. 1199 and 6th (or 19th) February, A. D. 1200, and the second, a date between 27th July, A. D. 1208 and 4th March, A. D. 1211. No doubt there are several inscriptions indicating other dates, but most of the inscriptions fall into either of these two classes. It is obvious therefore that there were two different systems of reckoning the regnal years of Siṅghaṇa, which were both followed indiscriminately

1. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 89 of 1930.
2. *Ibid.*, 68 of 1929.
3. *Ibid.*, 62 of 1930.
4. *Ibid.*, 418 of 1915.
5. *Ibid.*, 154 of 1933.

throughout his reign. The mere existence of a few inscriptions of a king even before the accepted date of his accession is not a reliable proof of the inaccuracy of the accepted date. Such inscriptions can be explained as evidence of a struggle for accession, and the existence of a strong party in the kingdom ranging itself on the side of the future king. But if in addition to such inscriptions we find that a king had a definite system of reckoning his regnal years from a date nearly a decade earlier than the one usually assigned to his accession we cannot dismiss this fact as just an evidence of internal disputes, especially if we find no inscriptions of the predecessor during the period under question. Very few inscriptions of Jaitugi have come to light so far, and we have no definite evidence that he was even alive in the 13th Century A.D.

It is usually stated that Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla performed a man-sacrifice with the help of an effigy of the Kākatīya king Rudra, and out of compassion released Gaṇapati from prison and made him "the lord of the Āndhra country." If we accept this statement *in toto*, and also admit that Gaṇapati began his rule only about A. D. 1210, it follows that Jaitrapāla must have been alive at that time, that is A.D. 1210. But the Bahal inscription,[1] dated A. D. 1222-23, which is the earliest inscription to refer to this incident, does not warrant such a conclusion. The actual passage runs as follows:—

गणपतिं पतिमान्ध्रभुवो व्यधाद्युधि धृतं करुणात(व)रुणाश्रयः ।[2]

It clearly means that Jaitrapāla, this 'ocean of compassion' made Gaṇapati, lord of the Āndhra country. Though the phrase युधि धृतम् shows that he was imprisoned, perhaps Gaṇapati was not, in reality, captured at all, and after submitting to a hasty and unfavourable treaty, he returned home and got himself crowned, thus providing a basis for the exaggerated claims of the Yādavas.

In the absence of any activity on the part of Jaitrapāla in the 13th Century, it is but natural to conclude in the light of such striking evidence, that even if Jaitrapāla was alive he took no part in the administration, but left it entirely in the hands of Siṅghaṇa. It is probable that some such arrangement was

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p, 111 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 112, Vol. XII, p. 112.

in force till the close of the first decade of the 13th Century, when perhaps due to the death of Jaitugi, Siṅghaṇa became the sole ruler of the country. In such a case, it is possible to explain the two different systems of reckoning the regnal years, and we can understand how Siṅghaṇa himself could have allowed both the systems to be in practice. Such a practice of the heir-apparent associating himself with the administration of the kingdom on terms of almost equal status with the ruling sovereign, especially during the latter's old age, was by no means uncommon among the kingdoms of that period. The history of the Kākatīyas, their neighbours, provides parallel instances, and in the history of the Haihaya chiefs of Kona-maṇḍala or Kona-sīmā we have a unique record of dual kingship which had been in existence for nearly three quarters of a century before the time of Siṅghaṇa. More than all, there is some definite evidence that in the case of this very Yādava dynasty of Devagiri the heir-apparent was associated in the administration of the country. Amalānanda Sarasvatī says in the introduction to his Kalpataru,

कीर्त्या यादववंशमुन्नमयति श्रीजैत्रदेवात्मजे
कृष्णे क्ष्माभृति भूतलं सह महादेवेन संबिभ्रति ।[1]

and again in the end he states,

कृष्णक्षितीशे भुवनैकवीरे
भ्रात्रा महादेवनृपेण साकम् ।
पाति क्षितिं प्रागिव धर्मसूनौ[2].

The second passage is quite explicit, and suggests that Mahādeva was practically the joint ruler of the country along with Kṛṣṇa, Siṅghaṇa's successor. So it seems extremely probable that Siṅghaṇa became the ruler of the kingdom as early as the end of the 12th Century, although his formal accession did not take place till some time about the end of the first decade of the 13th Century.

The last inscription of Siṅghaṇa available so far is a copper plate grant[3], dated Śaka 1173, Plavaṅga Jyeṣṭha Paurṇimā, Thursday, Lunar Eclipse. The Śaka year is evidently wrong,

1. Introduction, verse 13, in Amalānanda Sarasvatī's Kalpataru.

2. *Ibid.*, verses 6 and 7 at the end.

3. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 4 A of 1936.

since Plavaṅga corresponds to Śaka 1169 and not Śaka 1173. Further, on the basis of the Śaka year, Siṅghaṇa's reign will have to be extended right up to A.D. 1251, far into the reign of his grandson Kṛṣṇa. The Lunar Eclipse was in the month of Jyēṣṭha, but this error can be explained away as due to the confusion that might have arisen by mixing up amānta and pūrṇimānta systems of calculation. The Pūrṇimā actually expired on Wednesday at 8 of the day, and the eclipse was naturally on that day, although the inscription cites the week-day as Thursday and not Wednesday. This discrepancy in the week-day is also accountable on the basis of the fact that the record was actually issued on Thursday, although the grant was made on the previous night (that is, Wednesday night). If on the basis of the above explanation this date is accepted as a sound one, it follows that this is the last inscription of Siṅghaṇa known so far, corresponding to 19th June.

The earliest inscription[1] of Kṛṣṇa is dated Kīlaka, Kārtika śu. Paurṇimā, Friday, corresponding to the 2nd of November, A.D. 1248, and from now on, his inscriptions range till the year A.D. 1259. However, his dated inscriptions giving also the regnal years, with but two exceptions, assign his accession to a period earlier than 19th June, A.D. 1247, the date of Siṅghaṇa's copper-plate grant referred to above. Nor is the evidence available unanimous in indicating a single date for his accession. Four of the eight inscriptions available giving regnal years and full details, suggest a date between 2nd November, A.D. 1246 and 17th March, A.D. 1247, while the other four suggest a date between 16th Decem., A.D. 1245 and 3rd August, A.D. 1246. It is to be noted that barring the copper-plate grant[2] dated 19th June, A.D. 1247, we have no reliable records of Siṅghaṇa available so far, after the Mallur inscription[3] dated 1st June, A.D. 1245. It is not improbable that Siṅghaṇa's copper-plate grant registers an incident which took place sometime earlier. There are many instances of kings allowing records to be issued in the names of their predecessors, when they referred to any activities undertaken during their time. Anyhow it is certain that Siṅghaṇa ruled till at least the end of A.D. 1245, when probably due to the

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1. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, Sk. 217.

2. Fleet cites another inscription dated Śaka 1169, that is A. D. 1247-48. *Vide* Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 73.

3. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 154 of 1933.

death of his son Jaitugi, Siṅghaṇa made his grandson Kṛṣṇa, the heir-apparent. Whether this was the case, or Kṛṣṇa actually came to the throne, it is impossible to say definitely with the evidence at our disposal.

The last dated inscription[1] of Kṛṣṇa available so far is the one from Hirelingadahalli (Dharwar district), dated Siddārthin, Vaiśākha śu. Tadiya, Monday, corresponding to 28th April A.D. 1259. Although the inscriptions of his successor Mahādeva begin only from Śaka 1184, on the basis of the regnal years cited in his inscriptions, we can deduce that the date of his accession must have fallen between 7th November, A. D. 1259 and 13th July, A.D. 1260.[2] There is only one inscription of Kṛṣṇa for which a date later than this is suggested, and that is the Yenigi inscription[3] (Hadagalli taluk, Bellary district). The inscription is actually dated in Śaka 1181, Kāḷayukti, Puṣya ba. Amāvāsyā, Monday, Uttarāyṇa saṅkrānti, Solar Eclipse, Vyatīpāta, which is

1. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 106 of 1933.

2. An inscription of Mahādeva from Hattimattur, Haveri taluk, Dharwar district (69 of 1933) is dated in the 5th regnal year, Krodhana, Kārtika ba. 13, Wednesday. In Krodhana, the tithi fell on a Thursday, f. d. t. 35. On account of this discrepancy, the Department of Epigraphy suggests that the cyclic year was probably Kṣaya, for which year the details work out without any such discrepancy. There are two objections against this suggestion. Firstly, it is a more serious alteration to amend the cyclic year than to state that the week-day is given as Thursday, instead of Wednesday. During the interval between the conferring of a grant and the actual issuing of a record registering it, it is possible for a mistake to creep in as regards the week-day, but not as regards the year. Secondly, the regnal year is given as the 5th, which would place his accession not earlier than 28th October, A.D. 1261, which is obviously incorrect. Therefore it is not possible to reject the cyclic year given in the inscription and substitute Kṣaya in its place. The date of this inscription would therefore correspond to 27th October, A.D. 1266. It is strange that this is stated to fall in the 5th regnal year, while another inscription dated in the same cyclic year Krodhana and some four months earlier than this inscription in the month of Āṣāḍha gives the regnal year as 6. It is necessary therefore to take the regnal year of this inscription as expired, on which basis there will be no discrepancy in the date of accession calculated from this inscription.

3. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 525 of 1914.

stated to be the 13th year of Kandharadeva's reign. It also stated that the cyclic year Piṅgaḷa was the 12th regnal year, which definitely proves that there was no mistake about the cyclic and the regnal years. But the month Puṣya was a Kṣaya māsa in that year, and consequently the Department of Epigraphy rejects it, and suggests that the cyclic year was probably Dundubhi, in which year Puṣya ba. Amāvāsyā began on a Monday. This suggestion is based on the date of accession assigned to Kṛṣṇa by Kielhorn, namely A.D. 1249. But Kielhorn's date is much too late for Kṛṣṇa's accession, and was already rejected both by Fleet and Bhandarkar. We have already seen that the evidence of the few dated inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa giving regnal years also goes against the date assigned by Kielhorn. Consequently the suggestion made by the Department of Epigraphy is open to objection. In the first place, even as amended, the details do not work out satisfactorily, since there was no Solar Eclipse on Puṣya ba. Amāvāsyā, even in the cyclic year Dundubhi. Secondly, any change suggested will affect the second date given in this inscription, and also the Śaka year which is given as corresponding to the cyclic year. On the other hand, by accepting the cyclic year as given in the inscription we obtain the date of accession as A.D. 1246, which agrees quite satisfactorily with the conclusion we reached above. We may therefore assign this inscription to the end of Kṛṣṇa's reign, and assume that his death and the accession of Mahādeva took place during the latter part of A.D. 1259.

The last available inscription[1] of Mahādeva is dated in Vibhava, the 9th regnal year, but unfortunately the details of the date are lost. Fleet cites an inscription dated in Śaka 1191, referring to his mahāpradhāna and sarvādhikāri Tipparasa.[2] There is an inscription of Rāmacandra at Beturu,[3] Davanagere taluk, Chitaldrug district, dated Prajāpati, that is A.D. 1271-72. But we do not get a regular series of inscriptions till the year A.D. 1275. A careful scrutiny of 22 inscriptions of Rāmacandra giving regnal years shows that once again we have two different dates from which the regnal years are reckoned, the first falling in the year A.D. 1266-69 (between 14th November, 1268 and 2nd February, 1269), and the second in the year A.D. 1270

1. *Vide*. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 168 of 1933.
2. Dynasties of the Kanarese districts, p. 74.
3. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. XI, Dg. 13.

and 71 (between 5th November, 1270 and 12th February, 1271). But it is interesting to note that the inscriptions of the earlier part of his reign indicate the later date of accession, that is A.D. 1270-71, while the later inscriptions give the earlier date, that is A.D. 1268-69. It is definitely known from the Paithan grant[1] that after Mahādeva, there was a dispute over the succession between Amana, the son of Mahādeva, and Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇa's son. Rāmacandra is stated to have forcibly wrested the kingdom from Amana, which shows that probably Amana had already acquired it. Therefore even if we admit that Rāmacandra did not come to the throne till A.D 1270-71 as shown by most of the inscriptions of the earlier part of his reign, it does not follow that Mahādeva was living till that time. There must have been an interval between the date of the death of Mahādeva, and the accession of Rāmacandra, which the latter tried to conceal during the latter part of his reign by reckoning the period of his rule from the time of Mahādeva's death.

Inscriptional evidence is not very helpful in determining the last date of Rāmacandra's reign and the dates of Śaṅkara and Harapāla. But these dates have been calculated on the basis of other reliable evidence (mostly Muslim chronicles), and do not stand in need of confirmation by inscriptional evidence.

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 317.

TIRUTTAVATTURAI *OR* LĀLGUḌI.

BY

M. RAGHAVA AIYANGAR,

Tamil Lexicon, Madras University.

LĀLGUḌI, the headquarters of a taluk in the Trichinopoly district, the well-known centre of Smārta Brāhmins of the Bṛhat-caraṇam sect and the seat of an ancient Śiva temple of rare architectural beauty, has a fascinating story to tell to the South Indian historian. Its modern name is of Muslim origin, for the Mussalmans christened it 'the red place,' or account of the glistening red coulour of the temple gōpuram.[1] A study of inscriptions recorded on the temple walls dating from the 9th to the 14th centuries, and of Tamil devotional literature, reveals quite clearly the antiquity and importance of the place.

From the Annual Reports of the Archaeological department for 1928-29,[2] we gather that Lālguḍi went by the name 'Tiru-t-tavatturai' in former times, and that the deity of the place was named.

Tiru-t-tavatturai-p-perumān-aḍikaḷ.
,, bhaṭṭārakar, bhaḍārakar.
,, Īśvara bhaṭṭārakar.
,, Uṭaiyār.
,, Mahādēvar.

The God is at present known as 'Saptariṣīvarar', for tradition has it that, here, Lord Śiva gave salvation to the Saptarṣis or seven sages Aṭri, Bhṛgu and others. [Beyond perhaps a faint notion of the antiquity and greatness of the temple on account of its richness in inscriptions, scholars have not bestowed attention on its importance in old devotional literature such as the Tēvāram.]

It is a matter of common knowledge that a mention by the Tēvāram saints endows a shrine with peculiar sanctity. That such a privilege was enjoyed by Tavatturai is apparent from a line in the "Kṣētrakkōvai" (a list of Śiva shrines) of the

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1. Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District, p. 312.
2. A. R. Nos. 98 to 142.

Tēvāram, made by Appar. Etymologically it is the 'tuṟai' (place) of penance, (தவஞ்செய்த துறை). The word எழுவர் qualifies தவத்துறை (the place of penance-making), and this would imply that the seven were penance-performers or Ṛṣis. பண்டு, which, in turn, qualifies எழுவர் tells us that the seven Ṛṣis were of very old times. Hence பண்டெழுவர் will mean the famous Saptarṣis of old. This explanation, besides doing justice to Tavattuṟai, also fits in with the present-day Saptarṣīśvarar of that temple. Thus, it is plain that Appar has mentioned the Lālguḍi shrine also in his list.

பண்டெழுவர் தவத்துறை வேண்டுறை (St. 11).

Appar's reference to Tavattuṟai prompts us to inquire whether a separate patikam was devoted to the place by any one of the great trio of the Tēvāram saints. That it had this unique honour also is fairly certain. In that part of the Periyapurāṇam, recounting the places of pilgrimage visited by saint Jñāṉasambandar, Śēkkiḻār has the following lines:—

'ஆரணத்துட்பொரு ளாயினானை
யானைக்காவின்கட் புகழ்ந்துபாடி
ஏரணியும்பொழில் சூழ்ந்தசண்பை
யேந்தலாரெல்லையி லின்பமுற்றார்.'
"கைதொழுதேத்திப் புறத்தணைந்து
காமர்பதியதன் கட்சிலநாள்
வைகிவணங்கி மகிழ்ந்தணைவார்
மன்னுதவத்துறை வானவர்தாள்
எய்தியிறைஞ்சி யெழுந்தங்கின்றே
யின்றதமிழ்மாலைகொண் டேத்திப்போந்து
வைதிக மாமணி யம்மருங்கு
மற்றுமுள்ள தானம் வழுதிச்செல்வார்."

(பெரியபு. திருஞான புரா. 346, 347.)

The famous saint, we understand, after chanting the praises of the God of Tiru-v-āṉaikkā, and staying there for some days proceeded to worship at the feet of the Lord of Tavattuṟai. It is clear that this Tavattuṟai can be no other than Lālguḍi which is quite close to Tiru-v-āṉaikkā, only thirteen miles intervening between them. Further, what is more important, the quotation tells us that the saint composed a sweet garland of Tamil verses for Tavattuṟai-vāṉavar. This fact is doubly impressed on us as Śēkkiḻār uses similar wording 'தமிழ் மாலை' to describe the 'patikams' sung by Sambandar at other places and now extant:—

"பைஞ்ஞீலிவாணர் கழல்பணிந்து
மண்பரவுந்தமிழ் மாலை பாடி."
"ஆனைக்காவில் வெண்ணாவல்மேவிய மெய்ப்பொருளைப்
பண்ணுறு செந்தமிழ் மாலை பாடி."
"நெடுங்களத்தாதியை இன்னிசைமாலை
கொண்டேத்தி யேகி."

This evidence in Śēkkiḻār's lines finds strong confirmation in two inscriptions of the Lālguḍi temple. In its south wall, we find the first of the two, dated the 37th year of the reign of Madurai-koṇḍa Kōpparakēśarivarmaṉ[1] (Parāntaka Cōḻa I, 907-953 A.D). This tells us that one Śivakēsari Piṭāraṉ granted land for running a kind of chantry institution, two Brahmins being engaged to recite the *Tiruppatiyam* of the place thrice a day. The other is dated the 3rd year of Rājakēsari,[2] son of the former Parāntaka; and it records further gift of land by the same person to run the chantry, as the former endowment was found insufficient. From these two inscriptions, it is evident that a certain *patiyam* on the God sung by some famous saint existed. This we identify with the song of Jñāṉasambandar mentioned by the author of the Periyapurāṇam. It is noteworthy that the chanting of Tamil hymns was assigned to members of the Brahmin community.

The Tiru-t-tavatturai-p-patikam has not come down to us in the Tēvāram the only existing collection of the songs composed by the three Śaiva saints. Its fate is similar to innumerable patikams which, we know, have been lost. Nampi-y-āṇṭār-Nampi of the eleventh century says that the songs of saint Sambandar numbered 16000,[3] which would come to 1600 patikams. Umāpati Śivācārya, three centuries later, estimates the number as 384. The dwindled number shows clearly the gradual process of songs being lost to the world. The 'patikam' of Lālguḍi is manifestly one of this fraternity. [The recent discovery of an inscription with a lost 'patikam' of Sambandar quoted in it, at 'Tiru-viḍaivāy' confirms this point.]

1, A. R. No. 98 of 1928-29.

2. *Ibid.*, 104 of 1928-29.

3. "பச்சைப் பதிகத்துடன் பதினாறாயிரம்பா . . . விளக்கவல பெருமான்" (ஆளுடைய பிள்ளையார் திருத்தொகை. Some hold that Nampi-y-āṇṭār's number applies to 'patikams' instead of songs.

The existence of the Tava-t-tuṟai-p-paṭiyam in Śēkkiḻār's time seems to be tolerably certain from the style and tone of the reference in the Periyapurāṇam. But if, on the other hand, it was extinct even before him, he must have based his statement on actual records such as the inscriptions mentioned before. For, he was a reputed and influential minister, able to command access to any quarter, and almost invariably had unmistakable evidence for his statements.

It is only from the time of Rāja Rāja I that we can date with certainty accounts and traditions of the three great Śaiva saints Appar, Jñāṉasambandar and Sundaramūrti. For we know that he was the first to establish the cult of their worship, as well as to make known to the world their hymns. Yet, this fact in no way contradicts our supposition of the existence of paṭiyams of the three great Nāyaṉmārs before his time. It is known from inscriptions that at Tiruvallam[1], Tiruvāvaḍuturai[2] and Paḻuvūr[3] (Paḻūr) pāṭiyams were sung in the temple in pre-Rāja Rāja days, and these are now fortunately preserved in the Tēvāram. There are also similar accounts of the chanting of songs, most probably those of the three saints, which however, are not extant, at Antanallūr[4] and Aḷḷur.[5] Thus, it is clear that some of the Tēvāram songs, far from being unknown, were actually current even before Rāja Rāja made his collection.

Turning back to our main subject, we find that Tiruttava-t-tuṟai went by that name in the 14th century, the era of the Vijayanagar kings, as is known from an inscription of Dēvarāya Mahārāya.[6] Aruṇagirināthar, also of the 1-th century, extols the Lord of Tavatturai in his 'Tiruppukaḻ.'

"சீரணி யுந்திரை தத்து முத்தெறி
காவிரி யின்கரை மொத்து மெத்திய
சீர்புனை கின்ற திருத்த
வத்துறை வரும் வாழ்வே"

1. A. R. 1-a of 1890.
2. *Ibid.*, 139 of 1925.
3. *Ibid.*, 349 of 1919.
4. This is called in inscriptions Anduvanllūr Tiru-v-ālan-duṟai. A. R. 358 of 1903, S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 139.
5. A. R. 373 of 1903.
6. *Ibid.*, 121 of 1928-29.

"திரைக்கடற்பொரு காவிரி மாநதி
பெருக்கெடுத்துமே பாய்வன நீர்பொலி
*　　　*　　　*
திருத்தவத்துறை மாநகர் தானுறை பெருமானே"

The inscriptions of Lālguḍi reveal many interesting details about the place. This holy centre shrine formed part of the area known as Iḍaiyāṟṟunāḍu, which is itself a sub-division of Vaḍakarai Maḻanāḍu. In the period of Pāṇḍyan domination Maḻanāḍu was called Pāṇḍya-kulapati-vaḷanāḍu; and in the time of the Cōḻa suzerainty, it went by the names 'Pāṇḍi-kulāśani-vaḷanāḍu' (*i.e.*, the land of the Thunderbolt of the Pāṇḍya dynasty), and Rāja Rājavaḷanāḍu. The temple Tavatturai was much patronized by very ancient Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Cōḻa kings, the Vijayanagar rulers, and other distinguished people. Among these, mention may be made of the Pallava king Teḷḷāṟṟerinduvenṟu-koṇḍa Nandipōttarayan, the hero of Nandik-kalambakam, who inspired the composition of the Tamil Bhārata Venbā, and the Pāṇḍyan king, Māṟancaḍaiyan Varaguṇamahā-rājan. The latter had the title of 'Pāṇḍya kulapati' and when Maḻanāḍu passed into his hands, it was called after him 'Pāṇḍya-kulapati-vaḷanāḍu.'

This study brings home to us the importance of archaeological evidence coupled with other testimony in determining the nature and character of famous sthalas (shrines). Besides Tavatturai, inscriptions disclose that other sthalas of Tēvāram fame, like Tiruccirrēmam, Vijayamaṅgai, Tirukkaḍaimuḍi and Tiruccaḍaimuḍi are different from the present-day ones bearing such names. This has been pointed out by epigraphists with regard to the first two Tiruccirrēmam, and Vijayamaṅgai. The third and fourth, Tirukkaḍaimuḍi and Tiruccaḍaimuḍi, are revealed, from my studies, to be identical with the modern Tiruceennampūṇḍi and Kovilodi in the Tanjore taluk.[1]

1. *Vide* my article 'தேவாரம்பெற்ற தலங்களும் சிலாசாஸன வழக்கும்' in the *Kalai-magaḷ* (Vol. XI, pp. 408-419).

VIJAYĀLAYA CŌḶA'S KĀḶIYĀPAṬṬI—ŚIVA TEMPLE
(9th century A.D.)

BY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T., *Chidambaram.*

and

K. VENKATARANGA RAJU, *Pudukotah.*

Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi is a small village in Kuḷattūr Taluk of the Pudukotah State 10 miles from Kīṟaṉūr and about 25 miles from the town of Pudukotah, the capital of the State. It lies on the Puliyūr Kiḻḻukkōṭṭai road near Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi almost on the borders of the Trichinopoly district.

A few furlongs to the south of the village, there is in the midst of the fields an old temple in ruins. It faces east. It is a small compact edifice at once simple in structure and charming in outward appearance, and is built, like some of the Pallava and early Cōḷa structures, completely of well-dressed and close-fitting granite blocks without any binding material.

It measures eight feet square and its walls are a foot and a half in thickness. The walls of the *garbhagṛha* on the three enclosed sides are supported by pilasters, four on each side, adorned with *kumbham* and *palagai* and *kaṇḍam*. The brackets have an angular profile similar to those of Vijayālayacōḷīśvaram at Nārttāmalai and the temple at Tiruppūr. The walls are not provided with niches for deities. Above the cornice (Kabodam) which is decorated with scroll-work and Kūḍus, there is a frieze of yāḷis running all round. The roof consists of a *grīvā* and *śikhara.* The *stūpi* is missing. The *śikhara* has four Kūḍus one on each side, and each kūḍu has fine scroll-work on its face; as also on the corners of the square base of the *śikhara.* The Siṁhamukhams are absent. The form of the *śikhara* is four-sided and domical shaped with convex curvature—'cupola like.' In this respect, it resembles that of the Gaṅgāvataraṇa shrine sculptured in the immortal rock carvings of Māmallapuram portraying the scene of the penance of Bhagīratha and the descent of the Ganges.[1]

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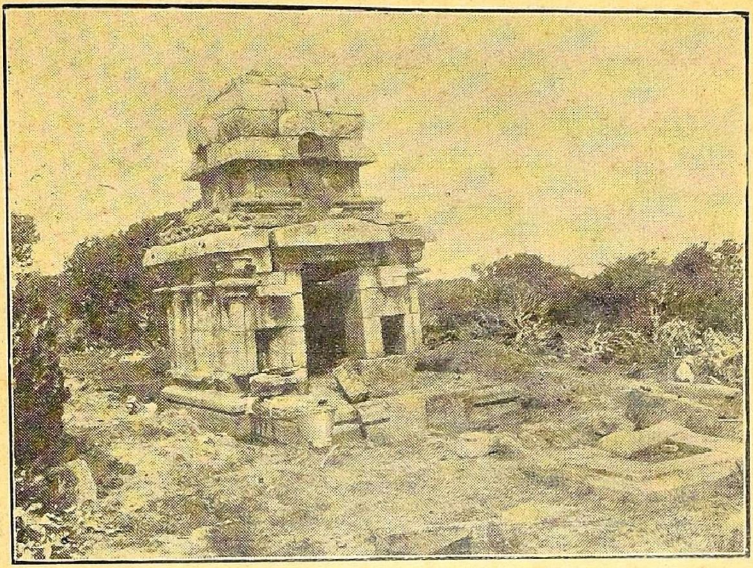
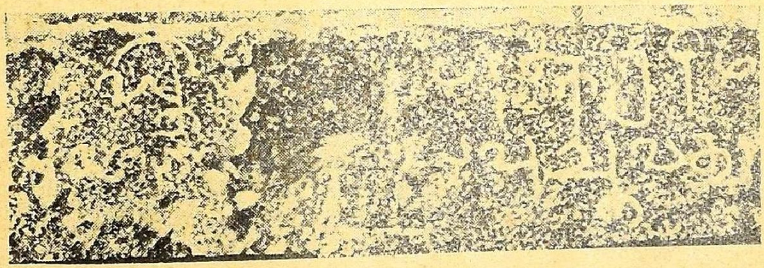
1. Plate XXX of Longhurst's Pallava Architecture, Vol. II.



Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi—Śiva Temple.



Newly discovered inscription—A part—18th year of Parakēsari pa(ṉmar).

This *śikhara* resembles those of Tirukkaṭṭaḷai, Koḍumbāḷūr, Ēṉādi, Tiruppūr and Viśalūr. Between the *śikhara* and the *stūpi* we have two layers of lotus petals, mahāpadma and paṭṭiśa (padmapīṭham and ratnapīṭam?) as in the Kaṇṇaṉūr temple. The walls of the roof approach each other gradually as it ascends until the narrow top space is suitably covered by a single stone finial to crown all. The interior is a hollow pyramid. The *vimāna* seems to have been originally covered with plaster and stucco work, traces of which are found on the surface.

A closed *ardha-maṇḍapa* six feet square appears to have been attached to the main shrine. Only the moulded basement is found now intact. Small sub-shrines round the main shrine must have been in existence, as the basement of a few of them can be seen. The basement of the nandi-maṇḍapa in front of the main shrine is also found. The whole must have been enclosed by a *prākāra* with a gateway in front. The figures of three *nandīs, Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and another mutilated seated image are found scattered about the place. These clearly point out that it is a *Śiva* temple. Dakṣiṇāmūrti and other deities might have adorned the niches in the *grīvā* and the *nandīs* on the four corners round the *vimāna*. The *kūḍu* in the *śikhara* and the lotus layers above the *śikhara* resemble those of the temple of Kaṇṇaṉūr.

There is a much mutilated unpublished inscription on the south wall and on the basement of the main shrine. It refers to the 18th year of a certain Parakēsari and it is fragmentary. We get no more particulars than a few names of the signatories of the representatives of villages who perhaps were members of the assembly—Viśalūr, Veṇṇāyil (modern Śeṭṭipaṭṭi) and Kannaṅguḍi—all of them villages situated in the neighbourhood of this village. Though the inscription is fragmentary and the operative part which would throw light on the nature of the transaction recorded in it is lost, we have sufficient data here at least to enable us to fix the age of the monument and the king who reigned then. The figure 8 in 18 in line 2 is one generally found in early Tamil inscriptions. The vowels *a, ā, i* and the consonants *ri, ti, yi* are sufficiently archaic to enable us to ascribe the inscription to the 9th or early 10th century A.D.

From the foregoing description, certain broad conclusions may be deduced. The temple is a simple structure belonging to the transitional period from the Pallava to the Cōḷa times, that the earliest prototype of this could be traced to the Māmalla-

puram sculptures. The stylistic and epigraphical considerations do not militate against its being assigned to the latter part of the 9th or early 10th century A.D.

But as there is an inscription of the 18th year of Parakēsari, at the latest it can be assigned to Parāntaka I, whose accession was in 907 A.D. Therefore the temple should have been in existence in any event (in 925 A.D.) in the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. But Parāntaka conquered Madura very early in his reign soon after his accession and from the third regnal year onwards he assumes the title of '*Madurai Koṇḍa*'. The absence of this title in an inscription of his 18th year would be very strange and uncommon. Hence it should be more appropriately assigned to the earlier Parakēsari. This is only reinforced by the character of the script, the absence of niches on the main walls of the *garbhagṛha*, the style of the *Kūḍu*, the shape and ornamentation of the *śikhara*, the angular profile of the *corbels*, which all taken together indicate that we may safely venture to assign it to the reign of the earlier Parakēsari, namely Vijayālaya, who was the founder of the imperial Cōḷas of Tanjore and who flourished in the latter half of the 9th century A.D. Thus it is, like the Vijayālayacōḷīśvaram in Nārttāmalai[1], another monument of the days of Vijayālaya.

There is a shrine almost similar in style and form at Ēṉādi, a village near Ponnamarapati.

The size, the form of the pilaster and cornice and the shape of the *sikhara* are identical. There is also an *ardhamaṇḍapa* in front. Perhaps it is a later imitation of Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi. As we have said already, the *śikhara* of the Tirukkaṭṭaḷai temple[2] is of the same style. Again the *vimāna* of the Mūvarkoil at Koḍumbāḷūr has the *śikhara* of the same form. In this place we have two of the three shrines intact "*Vimānatrayam*". They were built by Bhūti Vikramakēsari for his benefit and that of his two queens—Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā. The age of the Koḍumbāḷūr temple is a subject of controversy and recently it has been discussed by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Rev. Father Heras.[3]

1. J. O. R., Vol. VIII.
2. J. O. R., Vol. X, p. III.
3. *See* the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsari. J. O. R., Vol. VII and Heras. J. A. R. S., January, 1934, pp. 33 ff. and the reply of K. A. N. Sastri in the latter journal—July. 1935.

Ascribing the Koḍumbāḷūr temple to the seventh century —a view with which we do not agree—Heraś has appended the following note:—

"The only serious objection against our views as regards this Koḍumbāḷūr chronology is *archaeological*. The temples of Koḍumbāḷūr built by Bhūti Vikramakēsari seem to belong to a much later period. The general style of the temples, the technique of the sculpture, the system of construction appear *Cōḷa* rather than *Pallava*, and look more of the tenth century than of the seventh. As a matter of fact, the Koḍumbāḷūr temples may be classified as an architectural phenomenon. If these temples are finally placed in the 10th or even in the 11th century, you will still have the square cupola-like umbrella—of the top of the *vimāna* and especially the construction itself of the *vimāna*—without precedent and without consequent—totally unique in South Indian architecture without a satisfactory explanation. Bhūti Vikramakēsari or his architect or perhaps both were geniuses much beyond their age. Had the style of Koḍumbāḷūr found followers, a new style of architecture would have existed in South India. But now the temples are like an isolated instance of the work of a genius that found no followers."

We have quoted this long passage in order to show how undeveloped the present state of our knowledge of South Indian temples stands and how scholars can rush to hasty conclusions not warranted by facts. We shall in our future publications point out that the Koḍumbāḷūr *vimāna* is not an isolated and unique work of a genius but it has *precedents* and *consequents*. It will be seen that the *śikharas* of Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi, Koḍumbāḷūr, Ēṉādi Tirukkaṭṭaḷai, Tiruppūr, Viśalūr—and we may add even the distant saṅgamēśvara temple at Paṭṭadakkal, of perhaps the 8th century—are very similar.

South Indian temples, chiefly Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya, have not been studied with the care and attention they deserve. They are an untapped source. Much attention has been concentrated on a few famous temples. Some have perished. A few more have suffered at the relentless hands of pious renovators ignorant of the value of these precious monuments. Many more await study. But no safe theory can be built up except by an inductive process based on a study of most of the existing monuments still fortunately spared to us. But unfortunately that day is still far off.

APPENDIX.

PART A.

1. (Sva)sti..................parakēsari pa...

2. ......yā...............18 āvadu.

PART B.

1. Namum aṟivēṉ seng......Kāḍenēn ivaie nneḻuttu.

2. ippaḍi aṟivēṉ *viśalūr* pakaiyava......ippaḍi aṟivēṉ *Veṇ-ṇāyiluḍaiyānarai.*

3. ya naganēn...ippaḍi aṟivēṉ *kaṇṇaṅguḍi* naganendanēn.

ERRATA

Read pages numbered 80 to 127 *as* pages numbering 71 to 118.

॥ यत्किञ्चित् गालोडितम् ॥

॥ नवमे अखिलभारतीयविद्याविमर्शकसमाजे पठितम् ॥

BY

RAO BAHADUR S. K. PADMANABHA SASTRI,

Madras.

गणाधिपं गिरां देवीं गुरून् कोशकरान्नमन् ।
गालोडये किंचिदिव विमर्शकसभामुदे ॥ १ ॥
पाठेऽर्थे चागमभ्रंशान्महतामपि मोहतः ।
न विद्मः किं जहीमोऽत्र किमुपादद्महे वयम् ॥ २ ॥
क्षीरस्वामिवचो ह्येतद्व्यनक्ति पदसागरम् ।
गहनं गाहमानैश्च पदवी पदतत्त्वगा ॥ ३ ॥
दुर्बोधेत्यागमभ्रंशो निदानं तत्र चोदितम् ।

पूल सङ्घाते इति धातौ 'पूर्ण इत्येके पूण इत्यन्ये' इति पाठान्तरं वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुद्यां प्रदर्शितं विमृशद्भिः श्रीमद्भिः ज्ञानेन्द्रसरस्वतीभिः 'ईदृशेषु पाठशुद्धिर्निर्णेतुमशक्या ; अत एव क्षीरस्वामिनोक्तम्' इति पद्यमिदमुपवर्ण्य 'पूर्णादिषु पाठे भ्रंशः, वजधातोः मार्गसंस्कारोऽर्थ उत संस्कार एवेत्यर्थे भ्रंशः ; आगमभ्रंशात शास्त्रभ्रंशात्' इत्यागमपदं व्याख्यातम् । तदिदं व्याख्यानं फलितार्थकथनपरम्, क्षीरस्वामिपद्ये आगमपदस्य संप्रदायपरत्वात् ; सम्प्रदायभ्रंशश्च शास्त्रभ्रंशे हेतुः । संप्रदायो हि लेखनपठनपरम्परामनुसीव्यति । लिपिश्च बहुधा देशभेदाननुविभिन्नेति विदितम् । लेखका अपि नैकविधा अवहिता अनवहिताश्च लेखने प्रकाराननेकानवलम्बन्ते । तत्रैवं सति पाठकाः कथंकारं पठनेऽनेकान् प्रकारान्नाकलयेयुः , संप्रदायो वा न विच्छिन्द्यात् । शास्त्रभ्रंशे हेतुरयं संप्रदायभ्रंशः । शास्त्रभ्रंशे च सति समुपलभ्यमानान् पाठभेदांस्तथा तथा समर्थयन्ति बुद्धिकुशला विमर्शकाः । तांश्च पदानां पाठभेदान्निर्दिश्य

किंचिदिव विमृशामः । तत्र तावत् प्रथमतः सर्वतो विसृमरां नागरीलिपिमधिकृत्य लेखकानां पाठकानां च प्रमादेभ्यः प्रवृत्तान् पाठभेदान् प्रकाशयामः ॥

पकारयकारौ हि ओष्ठ्यतालव्यौ यथावदुच्चार्यमाणौ न कोऽपि परस्परात्मतया प्रतिपत्तुमर्हति श्रोता इति सार्वजनीनमिदम् । सत्येवं तद्घटितानां पदानां तद्व्यतिभेदप्रवृत्ताः पाठा अवश्यंभाविमूलं लेखकपाठकप्रमादमवष्टभ्नन्ति । न खल्वेतन्निरूपकाणां परोक्षम् । पश्यत महिषपर्याये अर्थिपर्याये च—(लुलाय-लुलाप) [वनीपक-वनीयक] इति च इमौ पाठौ—एनयोश्च यकारः पकारो वा प्रमादपतित इति शक्यं निश्चेतुं सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया गवेषयताम् । पकार-यकारौ हि सरूपौ लिप्योः । एनयोर्नागरीलिप्योराकारयोः संवादो हि भूयान् । परन्तु प्राङ्मुखैः प्रेक्षकैः प्रत्यक्षमीक्ष्यमाणस्य उत्तराभिमुखमुपविशतो वानरस्य मुखवक्रिम्णा व्यतिरिच्यते य इत्यस्य लिपिः । अयं च व्यतिरेको लेखकेन पाठकेन वा यदि नावधीयेत प्राप्तस्तर्हि पाठे विनिमय इति । अनेन च विनिमयेन प्राप्तान् पाठभेदान् कांश्चिदुदाहरामः ।

आतायिचिल्लौ आतापिचिल्लौ (अमरकोशे मृगादिवर्गे)

गोमहिष्यादिकं पादबन्धनम्— यादवं धनम् (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)

एतेन व-बयोरपि लेखकपाठकयोः प्रमादफलं प्रदर्शितम् । विभिन्नपदावयवप्रतीतेरपि विशेषेण प्रदर्शनात् । अयमेव मार्गः (व-प) (ल-ड) (ह-ड) (न-त) (व-च) (द-ड) एतेषु विज्ञेयः । दिङ्मात्रमुदाह्रियते व-पयोः—

प्राच्यवाची-प्राच्यपाची (अ० दिग्वर्गे)

घोटके वीतितुरग-घोटके पीतितुरग (अ० क्षत्रियवर्गे)

करवालः कृपाणवत्-करपालः कृपाणवत् (क्षत्रियवर्गे) ।

ल डयोः—

बडिशं मत्स्यवेधनम्—वलिशं मत्स्यवेधनम् (अ० वारिवर्गे)

ह-डयोः—

हयनं च समं त्रयम् ।

डयनं च समं त्रयम् (अ० क्षत्रियवर्गे)

डिण्डीरोऽब्धिकफः—हिण्डीरोऽब्धिकफः (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)

न-तयोः—

तूदस्तु यूपः क्रमुकः

नूदस्तु यूपः क्रमुकः (अ० वनौषधिवर्गे)

नलमीनश्चिलिचिमः—तलमीनश्चिलिचिमः (अ० वारिवर्गे)

व-चयोः—

चक्राणि पुटभेदाः स्युः—वक्राणि पुटभेदाः स्युः (अ० वारिवर्गे)

द-डयोः

कमठी डुलिः—कमठी दुलिः (अ० वारिवर्गे)

तुन्दिल-तुन्दिभौ—तुण्डिल-तुण्डिभौ (अ० मनुष्यवर्गे)

ष-पयोरपि—

क्लीबः षण्डो नपुंसके—क्लीबः पण्डो नपुंसके (अ० मनुष्यवर्गे)।

इयमेव रीतिः संयुक्तवर्णघटितपदानां लेखने पठने च अनवधान-निदानानां पाठान्तराणां प्रवृत्तावनुसन्धेया। उदाह्रियन्तेऽत्र कानिचित्—

ज्ञ-ज्ययोः—

यशः कीर्तिः समाज्ञा च—यशः कीर्तिः समज्या च (अ० शब्दादिवर्गः)

परिषद्वाचकः समज्याशब्दो लिपिव्यामोहात् कीर्तिपर्यायः प्रावर्तत।

न्व-ल्वयोः, ल-कयोश्च—

इन्वकास्तच्छिरोदेशे—इल्वलास्तच्छिरोदेशे (अ० दिग्वर्गे)

इन्वकाशब्द एव श्रुतौ श्रूयते 'सोमस्येन्वकाविततानि' इति मृगशीर्षशिरोदेशस्थितानां तारकाणां नामतया। एवं आर्त्निशब्दः चापकोटि-पर्यायः आरण्यके—'रुद्रस्य त्वेव धनुरार्त्निः' 'दिव्यस्यैका धनुरार्त्निः' 'अप शत्रून् विध्यतां संविदाने आर्त्नी इमे' इति च श्रूयते। अमरकोशे तु क्षत्रियवर्गे अर्तिः पीडा आर्तिः पीडा इत्येव दृश्यते पाठः। इदं च 'हलो यमां यमि लोपः' इति सूत्रे मनोरमाशब्दरत्नयोः स्पष्टम्। लोके नकारघटितः आर्त्निशब्दो मृग्य इदानीं संवृतः। अत्र च लेखकपाठकयोः प्रमाद एव निदानं संभाव्यते।

अवाचिमूकोऽथ मनोजवसः पितृसंनिभः—मनोजवः स पितृसन्निभः—मनोजवाः सपितृसंनिभः इति (अ. विशेष्यनिघ्नवर्गे) पाठत्रयमनुसृत्य मनोजवसः, मनोजवः, मनोजवाः इति त्रयोऽपि शब्दा व्याख्यातृभिः व्युत्पाद्यन्ते। वेदे तु 'मनोजवसं वृषणं सुवृक्तिम्' इति द्वितीयान्तं पठ्यते (तै-सं-का-२-प्र-४-अनु ७)। अत्र अमरकोशे मूलपाठे पदपाठे च भेदः सर्वथा लेखकपाठकप्रमादेन प्रतिपन्न इति निर्विवादम्।

एवं ख-षयोः—ड-लयोः श-ष-सानां व-बयोश्च उच्चारणेषु व्यामोहात् पाठान्तराणि—

पाषण्डाः सर्वलिङ्गिनः—पाखण्डाः सर्वलिङ्गिनः (अ० ब्रह्मवर्गे)
बडिशं मत्स्यवेधनम्—बलिशं मत्स्यवेधनम् (अ० वारिवर्गे)
वंशादिकं तु सुषिरम्—वंशादिकं तु शुषिरम् (अ० नाट्यवर्गे)
अभीशुः प्रग्रहे रश्मौ—अभीषुः प्रग्रहे रश्मौ (अ० नानार्थवर्गे)
शर्मसातसुखानि च—शर्मशातसुखानि च (अ० कालवर्गे)
शाबकः शिशुः—शावकः शिशुः (सिंहादिवर्गे)

इत्यादीनि निरूप्याणि।

एवं वर्गप्रथमद्वितीययोरुच्चारणेऽनवधानात् पदे पाठान्तरम्—

सोभोद्भवा मेखलकन्यका—सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका (अ० वारिवर्गे)
क्षुद्रशङ्खाः शङ्खनखाः—क्षुद्रशङ्खाः शङ्कनखाः) (अ० वारिवर्गे)
सोमपीथी तु सोमपाः—सोमपीती तु सोमपाः (अ० ब्रह्मवर्गे)।

क्वचित् वर्गप्रथमतृतीययोरुच्चारणेऽनवधानात् पाठभेदः—

कडङ्गरो बुसं क्लीबे—कडङ्करो बुसं क्लीबे (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)
तडित्सौदामनी विद्युत्—तटित्सौदामनी विद्युत् (अ० दिग्वर्गे)।

क्वचित् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोरुच्चारणेऽनवधानात् पाठभेदः—

पुंसि मेधिः खले दारु—पुंसि मेथिः खले दारु (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)।

क्वचित् हकार-घकारयोः—

पदंह्रिश्चरणोऽस्त्रियाम्—पदङ्घ्रिश्चरणोऽस्त्रियाम् (अ० मनुष्यवर्गे)।
सिंहाणमपि तन्मले—सिङ्घाणमपि तन्मले (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)।

चरणपर्याये अंह्रिरिति हकारघटितस्य प्रयोगो विरल इति ज्ञायते।

क्वचित् रि इत्यस्य उच्चारणे अनवधानात् ऋ इति अचः प्रसक्त्या पाठान्तरम्—

नीलङ्गुस्तु क्रिमिः—नीलङ्गुस्तु कृमिः (अ० सिंहवर्गे)।

तडाकादिषु पूर्वोच्चारितवर्गप्रथमादितुल्योच्चारणस्वभावप्रवणजिह्वातारल्येन, वर्गतृतीयघटितद्वितीयतृतीयवर्णयुतानाम् उच्चारणक्रमेऽनवधानाच्च क्रमादिमे पाठभेदाः—

तटाकः-तडागः-तटागः-तडाकः। एतादृशाश्च न भूयांस उपलभ्येरन्
पद्माकरस्तडाकोऽस्त्री—पद्माकरस्तडागोऽस्त्री (अ० वारिवर्गे)।

मरकतनारिकेलादिषु आनुपूर्व्यादौ व्यामोहात् पाठभेदाः—

गारुत्मतं मरकतम्—गारुत्मतं मरतकम् (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)
नारिकेलस्तु लाङ्गली—नालिकेरस्तु लाङ्गली (अ० वनवर्गे)

जम्बुकादिषु प्रथमद्वितीयाक्षरयोरचोर्व्यत्ययेन पाठपरम्परया अपपाठ एव परिशिष्यते लोके। तन्मूलभूतस्य तु सर्वथा तिरोहितिरिति साधुशब्द-निर्णयाय प्रतिपदपाठस्याप्यावश्यकता, वेदस्येव तस्याध्ययनपरम्पराया अप्यपेक्षणीयता प्राप्तेत्यहो वेदस्य स्वरूपसंरक्षणेऽध्ययनपरम्पराया उपायस्य पश्यत कियानयमुपयोग इति।

आश्रितेऽप्यस्मिन्नन्यादृश उपाये आन्ध्रद्राविडादिदेशभेदादारण्यके भूयान् पाठभेदः, भट्टभास्करादिभाष्यानुसारी च अधुनातनपाठाद्विलक्षणः पाठ इति जितं कालदेशादिशक्त्या सर्वथा सर्वानप्यर्थानन्यथयन्त्या। प्रकृतमनुसरामः।

जम्बुकशब्दः सिंहवर्गे क्रोष्टुपर्यायः, नानार्थवर्गे क्रोष्टुवरुणयोः पर्यायोऽपि पठ्यते—

फेरुफेरवजम्बुकाः—जम्बुकौ क्रोष्टुवरुणौ इति च।

तत्र जम्बुकशब्दो 'मृगय्वादयश्च' इत्युणादिषु व्युत्पादितः। भोजने तु 'जमेर्बुक्च' इत्युकन्प्रत्यये बुगागमे च जमेर्व्युत्पादितोऽसौ शृगाल-वाचीति सत्यमिदम्। वरुणवाची तु जुम्बकशब्दः, न तु जम्बुकशब्दः। वेदे हि 'जुम्बकाय स्वाहेत्यवभृथ उत्तमामाहुतिं जुहोति। वरुणो वै जुम्बकः' इति श्रूयते। स एव वरुणवाची लोकेऽपि भवितुमर्हति लोकवेदाधिकरणन्यायात्। अश्रद्धया अनवधानेन वा तस्य विस्मृतिरपि लोके

संवृत्ता। शब्दकल्पद्रुमादौ नवीनेऽपि कोशे नायमुपलभ्यते। श्रीमान् आप्टे महाभागः परं पठति तमेनं वरुणवाचिनं जुम्बकशब्दम्। भट्टभास्करीये तैत्तिरीयभाष्ये 'जुबिवर्जने' इति धातोर्व्युत्पन्नोऽसौ इत्युच्यते। परन्तु कवर्गीयान्तेषु युगि, जुगि, वुगि, वर्जने इति गान्त एव भ्वादिगणे पठ्यते, न बान्तः। अथवा बहुलमेतन्निदर्शनमित्युक्त्या जुबिधातुरपि क्वचिदन्तर्भावयितुं शक्यते। सर्वेषामपि प्रयुक्तचराणां पदानां तैस्तैरुपायैः साधुत्वं प्रदर्शयितुं शक्यते। तदर्थमेव गणानामाकृतिगणत्वम्, बहुषु सूत्रेषु बहुलग्रहणम्, पृषोदरादिगणप्रदर्शनम्, द्विरूपादिकोशनिबन्धनम् इत्युपायजातमुपबृंहितं प्राचीनैः निबन्धृभिः। परं त्वत्रापि काचित् कल्पिता भाति सीमा। 'प्रयुक्तानामिदमन्वाख्यानम्' इति 'यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते' इति च।

जुम्बकशब्दवदेव संकुसुकशब्देऽपि गतिः कल्पनीया। स हि आरण्यके द्वितीयप्रपाठके 'संकुसुको विकुसुकः' इति श्रूयते। यद्यपि उणादौ 'समिकस उकन्' इति संकसुकशब्दो व्युत्पाद्यते अमरकोशे च 'संकसुकोऽस्थिरे' इति पठ्यते न तु संकुसुक इति। तथापि भोजेन 'बाहुलकात् संकुसुकः' इति समर्थ्यते। तथा तैत्तिरीये 'स क्रुमुकं प्राविशत् क्रुमुकमुपदधाति' इति इन्धनविशेषवाची क्रुमुकशब्दोऽपि भोजेनैव 'क्रमेः क्रुम् च वा' इति व्युत्पाद्यते। अमरस्तु 'तूदस्तु यूपः क्रमुकः' इत्येव पठति वनवर्गे। विभिन्नार्थकौ क्रमुकक्रुमुकशब्दावुभावपि स्वतन्त्रौ साधू संभाव्येते॥

अथ प्रदर्शितया प्रक्रियया अमरकोशे पदानां पाठभेदान् विमृशामः।

GREATER GĪTĀ*

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

The title of this paper is based on the analogy of Greater India. But the main intention is not to give a list of the imitations of the Bhagavad Gītā found in or ascribed to the several Purāṇas or similar compilations. These imitations are no doubt an interesting subject and the New Catalogus Catalogorum Office in the Madras University has been able to note up till now about a hundred such imitations of the Bhagavad Gītā.[1] The Gītā came to be the accepted form for presenting any spiritual discourse. There are three Gītās pertaining to Nānak and Sikhism, there is a Nārāyaṇa Gītā belonging to the Rāmānanda sect and there is one Jain Gītā. When a Sanskrit writer set his hand to make a Sanskrit version of the Bible, he called it Khṛṣṭu Gītā. When the gifted Mrs. Kṣamā Row wanted to record the Satyāgraha of Mahātmāji in classic form, she adopted the name Satyāgraha Gītā. From Madras appeared also a parody of the famous Surat session of the Indian National Congress called the Congress Gītā.

Leaving these and the Gītās found in or ascribed to the several Purāṇas, let us examine the Itihāsottama or the Great Epic itself in which the Bhagavad Gītā appears. The Mahābhārata seems to be a fertile soil for Gītās. To Arjuna himself who forgets the teachings of the Bha. Gītā, the Lord addresses again the Anugītā in the Āśvamedhika. There is a Uttara Gītā in three chapters, commented upon by a Gauḍapāda, which again is addressed by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna who forgets the Bha. Gītā and which some mss. assign to the Āśvamedhikaparvan where the Anugītā occurs and some to the Bhīṣmaparvan where the Bha. Gītā occurs, but which is really not to be found in any part of the text of the Mahābhārata. Some of the other Gītās in the Mahābhārata are the Śamyāka Gītā in Śānti, 175; the Maṅki

* A paper read before the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, on the Gītā Day, Jan. '38.

1. *See* Appendix here for an alphabetical list of the Gītās.

Gītā in Śānti, 176; the Hārīta Gītā in Śānti, 284; the Vṛtra Gītā in Śānti, 285; and the Parāśara Gītā in Śānti, 296-304.[1] Besides these discourses bearing the name 'Gītā',[2] there are the valuable teachings inculcated in the sections,—the Darmavyādha-ākhyāna, the Ajagara episode, the Yakṣapraśna, the Viduranīti, the Sanat-sujātīya, the whole Mokṣa dharma of the Śāntiparvan and the Vaiṣṇavadharma in the Ānuśāsanika found only in Southern mss. It is not the form of the Gītā but it is the spirit that is the Gītā which is important. The Gītā-spirit permeates the whole Epic, like electric energy; and because it has been made manifest in the form of a high-candle-power bulb at the door of the Bhīṣmaparvan, it cannot be said that the Gītā is available in the Mahābhārata in that place only. Like butter out of butter-milk, the Bha. Gītā is a natural emanation from the Mahābhārata.

भारतामृतसर्वस्वगीताया मथितस्य च ।
सारमुद्धृत्य कृष्णेन अर्जुनस्य मुखे हुतम् ॥ Bhīṣma, 43. 5.

It is true that great utterances excel themselves and outgrow their context for the sake of universal benefit and it is legitimate that philosophers build out of the Gītā each his own system of philosophy, emphasising Karma, Jñāna and Bhakti. But the process called spiritual does not seem to be a pure element of any one of these or a mere mixture of these but an unanalysable whole of Yoga in which Karman looks like Jñāna, Jñāna like Karman and both like Bhakti. Still a study of the Gītā in its context would show a primary emphasis on Karman; what is that philosophy for, which is not to guide us to act better or to act as we ought to? Action is something in the very nature of life and there is no getting rid of it. But this binding action itself will liberate us, only if we know how to do it. There is a saying in Sanskrit that there is no letter in the alphabet which is not a Mantra and no herb in the forest which is not a medicine; but one has to discover and apply. Similarly with our acts; there is no act of ours which we cannot turn into a powerful means of our spiritual elevation. How to transform this stone of a binding act into the gem or the gold of a liberating Yoga? Both Jñāna and Bhakti give us the alchemic process necessary for this transformation. The agent should renounce all idea of

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1. References are to the Kumbhakonam edn. here; under the passages cited, in the further portions of this paper, reference is given to the Citraśālā Press edn. also.

2. For an explanation of the name 'Gītā', *See* Appendix.

himself being the proud doer, put himself reverently in the hand of God as his tool, offer his little act as a flower of worship to Him, and be free from the taint of attachment or the desire for the fruit. This makes life a Yoga and he who knows how to do his acts in this manner as Yoga becomes an adept in action, a Kuśala, a Dakṣa. When one has found this secret, he will no longer be faced with the perplexity—

कर्म त्यजेदिति चरेदिति च प्रवृत्ताः
भावेन केन निगमा इति न प्रतीमः ।

Nīlakaṇṭha dīkṣita, Ānandasāgarastava.

This, I think, is the Gītā-spirit and this can be seen in the other parts of the Mahābhārata also. Mental crisis occurs frequently to men of action and when they find that of the two alternatives of doing a thing of duty with all its sorrowful consequences and of not doing it at all, the latter, as a sin of omission, is the lesser of the two evils. But this, Kṛṣṇa would call Prajñāvāda. The call of the Gītā is to do what is one's duty, one's Svadharma, in the spirit that through him, the mere agent, God is going through His programme. This Gītā-spirit also is profusely seen in the other parts of the Great Epic. A third Gītā-spirit is the 'Samatva', the equanimity of mind, the 'Nirdvandvatā' or that weather-proof state of the mind which is not upset by the fluctuations in one's career, success-failure, honour-insult, gain-loss and so on. This again one can see wherever he lays his hand in the Mahābhārata. When with the idea in one's mind that the dominant ideas of the Gītā must form the very basis of the Great Epic, that the story of the Epic can with advantage be read in full, in detail and with care to understand more and better the Gītā itself, one reads the Mahābhārata, one is greatly rewarded. I shall now point out from the other parts of the Mahābhārata Gītā-ideas and Gītā-expressions, actual presence of entire Gītā-passages and situations such as that which the Gītā helps man to face. Verily, there is a Gītā-complex throughout the Great Epic.

It is one of the teachings of the Gītā that Dharmas like Dāna have to be done without any motive दातव्यमिति यद्दानम्, Bha. G. 17, 20. Dharma has to be observed for its own sake and not because its observance would bear material fruit. The Gītā does not countenance the saying "Honesty is the best policy". All this is very well brought out in the calm reply of Yudhiṣṭhira to his perturbed wife, Draupadī, who, in Vana 31, finds fault with

Yudhiṣṭhira for sticking to Dharma which is not only barren of good result but is productive of calamities also. Yudhiṣṭhira says:—

नाहं धर्मफलाकाङ्क्षी राजपुत्रि चराम्युत ।
ददामि देयमित्येव यजे यष्टव्यमित्युत ॥
अस्तु वात्र फलं मा वा कर्तव्यं पुरुषेण यत् ।
गृहे निवसता कृष्णे यथाशक्ति करोमि तत् ॥
धर्मं चरामि सुश्रोणि न धर्मफलकारणात् ।

Vana, 31, 2-4. Kumbh.
" " " Citraśālā.

In ch. 203 (200 Citraśālā) of the Vanaparvan, in the Mārkaṇḍeya samāsyā, there are passages which are to be found in the Gītā also. Mārkaṇḍeya says:—

बीजानि ह्यग्निदग्धानि न रोहन्ति पुनर्यथा ।
ज्ञानदग्धैः पुनः क्लेशैर्नात्मा संयुज्यते पुनः ॥ 108.

which we hear again from Kṛṣṇa's mouth—

ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते तथा । Bha. G. IV. 37.

Again—

Mārkaṇḍeya	Kṛṣṇa
नायं लोकोऽस्ति न परः	संशयात्मा विनश्यति ।
न सुखं संशयात्मनः । 112.	नायं लोकोऽस्ति न परः
	न सुखं संशयात्मनः ॥
	Bha. G. IV. 40.

And Kṛṣṇa's verse in the Gītā, II, 46—

यावानर्थ उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।
तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥

is summarised by Mārkaṇḍeya in a line—

विदितार्थस्तु वेदानां परिवेद प्रयोजनम् । 113.

One of the chief ideas of the Gītā is the Svadharma yoga which is again and again dealt with, but is specially described in

ch. 17, Śls. 45-48, after a description of the Svadharmas of the four Varṇas:

स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः ।
स्वकर्मनिरतः सिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥
यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥
श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥
सहजं कर्म कौन्तेय सदोषमपि न त्यजेत् ।
सर्वारम्भा हि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरिवावृताः ॥

The theory of salvation through the dispassioned discharge of one's Svadharma is based on the idea that, like Art, Svadharma is governed by its own *internal* laws and has not got to be judged by *external* ideas. It is not the Dharma itself but how one does it; like *expression* in Art, the *spirit* in which the Dharma is done is the point. It is this, of all the ideas of the Gītā, that finds repeated expression throughout the Mahābhārata. Other instances will be shown in due course and here I am drawing attention to the exposition of this theory of salvation through doing one's Dharma in the reverential spirit of offering it to God, without despising one's Dharma, *bad though it is from an external standard*, by the hunter-philosopher in chs. 211-221 (chs. 207-216 Citraśālā) of the Vanaparvan. Here the Dharmavyādha enlightens the Brahmin Kauśika who asks him why he follows that avocation of living by killing animals. The Dharmavyādha says:—

स्वधर्म इति कृत्वा तु न त्यजामि द्विजोत्तम ।

* * * *

स्वधर्मं त्यजतो ब्रह्मन्नधर्म इह दृश्यते ।
स्वधर्मनिरतो यस्तु धर्मः स इति निश्चयः ॥
कुले हि विहितं कर्म देही तं न विमुञ्चति ।
धात्रा विधिरयं दृष्टो बहुधा कर्मनिर्णये ॥

* * * *

कृषिं साध्विति मन्यन्ते तत्र हिंसा परा स्मृता ।
कर्षन्तो लाङ्गलैरुर्वीं घ्नन्ति भूमिशयान् बहून् ॥
धान्यबीजानि यान्याहुर्व्रीह्यादीनि द्विजोत्तम ।
सर्वाण्येतानि जीवा हि तत्र किं प्रतिभाति ते ॥
* * * *
जीवा हि बहवो ब्रह्मन् वृक्षेषु च फलेषु च ।
उदके बहवश्चापि तत्र किं प्रतिभाति ते ॥
सर्वं व्याप्तमिदं ब्रह्मन् प्राणिभिः प्राणजीविभिः ।
* * * *
सत्त्वैः सत्त्वानि जीवन्ति * * * ॥
चङ्क्रम्यमाणा जीवांश्च धरणीसंश्रितान् बहून् ।
पद्भ्यां हन्ति नरा विप्र * * * ॥
उपविष्टा शयानाश्च घ्नन्ति जीवाननेकशः ।

and so the Vyādha concludes:

वक्तुं बहुविधं शक्यं धर्माधर्मेषु कर्मसु ।
स्वकर्मनिरतो यो हि स यशः प्राप्नुयान्महत्[1] ॥

a philosophy which Kālidāsa's fisherman taught the bumptious police-chief in the Śākuntala—

Fisherman:

अहं जालोद्गालादिभिः मत्स्यबन्धनोपायैः कुटुम्बभरणं करोमि ।

Police-chief:

विशुद्ध इदानीमाजीवः !

Fisherman:

भर्तः ! मैवम्—
सहजं किल यद्विनिन्दितं न खलु तत् कर्म विवर्जनीयम् ।
पशुमारणकर्मदारुणः अनुकम्पामृदुरेव श्रोत्रियः ॥

We shall see again that it is with this view-point that everybody tries to persuade Yudhiṣṭhira to crown himself in the king-

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1. For a similar question and a similar reply by another Dharmavyādha, see the Varāhapurāṇa, ch. 8, Bib. Ind. Edn., pp. 51-59.

dom which he is averse to accept in his sorrow consequent on the great war.

In the Dharmavyādhākhyāna, there are, besides, other passages which can be compared with some in the Gītā:

Vyādha.	Gītā.
न जीवनाशोऽस्ति हि देहभेदे	देहिनोऽस्मिन् यथा देहे
मिथ्यैतदाहुः म्रियतीति मूढाः ।	कौमारं यौवनं जरा ।
जीवस्तु देहान्तरितः प्रयाति	तथा देहान्तरप्राप्तिः
दशार्धतैवास्य शरीरभेदः ॥ 213. 27.	धीरस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥ II. 13.

Vyādha, 214, 2-7.

विज्ञानार्थं मनुष्याणां मनः पूर्वं प्रवर्तते ।
तत्प्राप्य कामं भजते क्रोधं च द्विजसत्तम ॥
ततस्तदर्थं यतते कर्म चारभते महत् ।

* * * *

ततो लोभः प्रभवति मोहश्च तदनन्तरम् । etc.

which can be compared with Gītā, II, 62-3:

ध्यायतो विषयान् पुंसः सङ्गस्तेषूपजायते ।
सङ्गात् सञ्जायते कामः कामात् क्रोधोऽभिजायते ॥
क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः etc.

Again the Vyādha says:

षण्णामात्मनियुक्तानाम् इन्द्रियाणां प्रमाथिनाम् ।
यो धीरो धारयेद्रश्मीन् स स्यात् परमसारथिः ॥
इन्द्रियाणां प्रसृष्टानां हयानामिव वर्त्मसु ।
धृतिं कुर्वीत सारथ्ये धृत्या तानि जयेद् ध्रुवम् ॥
इन्द्रियाणां विचरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरते बुद्धिं नावं वायुरिवाम्भसि ॥ 215. 24-27,

words which are found in the Gītā thus:

इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि । II. 60.

इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नावमिवाम्भसि ॥ II. 67.

Vyādha:	Gītā:
चित्तस्य हि प्रसादेन हन्ति कर्म शुभाशुभम् ।	प्रसादे सर्वदुःखानां हानिरस्योपजायते etc. । II. 65.

* * *

लक्षणं तु प्रसादस्य यथा तृप्तः सुखं स्वपेत् । निवाते वा यथा दीपो दीप्येत् कुशलदीपितः ॥ 216. 40–41.	यथा दीपो निवातस्थो नेङ्गते सोपमा स्मृता । VI. 19.

In the Vrīhidrauṇika of the Vana, sage Maudgalya refuses to go to Svarga from which one has to return and here we have the Gītā's ideal Paṇḍita or Sthitaprajña described in the verse—

तुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिर्भूत्वा समलोष्टाश्मकाञ्चनः ।
ज्ञानयोगेन शुद्धेन ध्याननित्यो बभूव ह ॥ 47.

261-46. (Citraśālā)

In the Yakṣapraśna which closes the Vana, some of the ideas of the Gītā are found in the terse replies of Yudhiṣṭhira. दाक्ष्यमेकपदं धर्म्यं and धन्यानामुत्तमं दाक्ष्यं (ch. 314. Kumbh. 313 Citraśālā) put in a nutshell the implications of the Karmayoga of the Gītā—योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्. Similarly Yudhiṣṭhira's तपः स्वधर्मवर्तित्वम् and स्वधर्मे स्थिरता धैर्यम् emphasise the Gītā-doctrine of Svadharma, the greatest *Tapas* one can perform and the greatest *Sthairya* one can have. The Gītā-ideal of an equanimous mind, unassailed by the Dvandas, is thus effectively put by Yudhiṣṭhira in his definition of Kṣamā—क्षमा द्वन्द्वसहिष्णुत्वम्. And in his final reply, Yudhiṣṭhira gives us his picture of the best of men and the most fortunate of men, a fine Gītā-ideal:

तुल्ये प्रियाप्रिये यस्य सुखदुःखे तथैव च ।
अतीतानागते चोभे स वै पुरुष उच्यते ॥

(not found in Citraśālā).

समत्वं यस्य सर्वेषु निःस्पृहः शान्तमानसः ।
सुप्रसन्नः सदा योगी स वै सर्वधनी नरः ॥

314. 123-4 (Kumbh,)
313. (Citraśālā.)

In the Udyoga where the Lord visibly begins to take the strings in His hands: Sañjaya has met the Pāṇḍavas and Yudhiṣṭhira has told him that they were following what Kṛṣṇa decided. And Kṛṣṇa then speaks, opening with a plea for Karman. In the Gītā, He says:

न हि कश्चित् क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ।
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैः गुणैः ॥ III. 5.

नियतं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ।
शरीरयात्रापि च ते न प्रसिद्ध्येदकर्मणः ॥ III. 8.

Who can comment upon this better than Kṛṣṇa Himself and in what better manner than this in Udyoga—(ch. 29 Kumbh. and Citraśālā):

या वै विद्याः साधयन्तीह कर्म
तासां विद्यते फलं नेतरासाम् ।
* * *
सोऽयं विधिः विहितः कर्मणैव
संवर्तते सञ्जय तत्र कर्म ।
तत्र योऽन्यत् कर्मणः साधु मन्येत्
मोघं तस्यालपितं दुर्बलस्य ॥
कर्मणामी भान्ति देवाः परत्र
कर्मणैवेह प्लवते मातरिश्वा ।
अहोरात्रे विदधत् कर्मणैव
अतन्द्रितो नित्यमुदेति सूर्यः ॥
* * * *
अतन्द्रिता भारमिमं महान्तं
बिभर्ति देवी पृथिवी बलेन ।
अतन्द्रिताः शीघ्रमपो वहन्ति
सन्तर्पयन्तः सर्वभूतानि नद्यः ॥

a veritable poem on Karman.

The Viduranīti in the Prajāgara in the same Parvan contains a description (ch. 33 Kumbh. and Citraśālā) of 'Paṇḍita' not far removed from the Gītā's 'Sthitaprajña'. Vidura says:

यस्य कृत्यं न निघ्नन्ति शीतमुष्णं भयं रतिः ।
समृद्धिरसमृद्धिर्वा स वै पण्डित उच्यते ॥

Śl. 26. (Śl. 19. Citraśālā.)

न हृष्यत्यात्मसंमाने नावमानेन तप्यते ।
गाङ्गो ह्रद इवाक्षोभ्यो यः स पण्डित उच्यते ॥

Śl. 33 (Śl. 26. Citraśālā.)

In Ch. 35, Vidura says:

यथा यथा हि पुरुषः कल्याणे कुरुते मनः ।
तथा तथास्य सर्वार्थाः सिध्यन्ते नात्र संशयः ॥

Śl. 35 (Śl. 41 Citraśālā.)

which is put by Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā thus:

न हि कल्याणकृत् कश्चिद् दुर्गतिं तात गच्छति । VI. 40.

Then follows the Sanatsujātīya and of listening to it the fruit given is that man shall become the Nirdvandva of the Gītā:

यं श्रुत्वायं मनुष्येन्द्रः सर्वदुःखातिगो भवेत् ॥
लाभालाभौ प्रियद्वेष्यौ यथैनं न जरान्तकौ ।
विषहेरन् भयामर्षौ क्षुत्पिपासे मदोद्भवौ ॥

Ch. 41. 11-12 (Kumbh. and Citraśālā.)

In XV. 11, the Lord says in the Gītā that only a Kṛtātmā can see Him and not an Akṛtātmā.

यतन्तोऽप्यकृतात्मानो नैनं पश्यन्त्यचेतसः ।

In Udyoga 68, (69 Citraśālā), Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks Sañjaya how Sañjaya could see the Lord and Sañjaya replies:

नाकृतात्मा कृतात्मानं जातु विद्याज्जनार्दनम् ।

Śl. 17 (Kumbh. and Citraśālā.)

and then gives Indriyanigraha as the means:

आत्मनस्तु क्रियोपायो नान्यत्रेन्द्रियनिग्रहात् ।

which the Lord stresses in Gītā, III. 41 and 43.

As the Lord is about to start on his mission, Yudhiṣṭhira argues for peace and points out, like Arjuna in the opening chapter of the Gītā, how unrighteous it is to kill one's own kinsmen:

ये पुनः स्युरसंबद्धाः अनार्याः कृष्ण शत्रवः ।
तेषामप्यवधः कार्यः किं पुनर्ये स्युरीदृशाः ॥

ज्ञातयश्चैव भूयिष्ठाः सहाया गुरवश्च नः ।
तेषां वधोऽतिपापीयान् किन्तु युद्धेऽस्ति शोभनम् ॥
पापः क्षत्रियधर्मोऽयं * * ।

Ch. 71. 52-54 (Kumbh.).
Ch. 72. 44-46 (Citraśālā).

Arjuna spoke in the same language on the field:

आचार्याः पितरः पुत्राः etc.
एतान् न हन्तुमिच्छामि घ्नतोऽपि मधुसूदन ।
* * * *
स्वजनं हि कथं हत्वा सुखिनः स्याम माधव ॥

And Kṛṣṇa briefly gave to Yudhiṣṭhira the same reply He gave to Arjuna later:

न भैक्षं क्षत्रियश्चरेत् ।
स्वधर्मः क्षत्रियस्यैष कार्पण्यं न प्रशस्यते ॥
न हि कार्पण्यमास्थाय शक्या वृत्तिर्युधिष्ठिर ।
विक्रमस्व महाबाहो जहि शत्रून् परन्तप ॥

Ch. 73. 3-5 Citraśālā.

which can be placed by the side of the Gītā, II. 3:

क्लैब्यं मा स्म गमः पार्थ नैतत्त्वय्युपपद्यते ।
क्षुद्रं हृदयदौर्बल्यं त्यक्त्वोत्तिष्ठ परन्तप ॥

But again and again, Yudhiṣṭhira asks "How could we kill our elders, preceptors, brothers and sons?" After the war has been decided upon, Yudhiṣṭhira again asks:

कथं ह्यवध्यैः सङ्ग्रामः
कथं हत्वा गुरून् वृद्धान् विजयो नो भविष्यति ॥

Ch. 154. 22. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

and it is now Arjuna who replies: "Kṛṣṇa has settled that there should be war; it cannot be Adharma; so let us fight." Is it this same Arjuna who threw down the Gāṇḍīva in the Gītā ?

We have reached the Bhīṣmaparvan now and the armies have gathered on Kurukṣetra. On seeing Bhīṣma at the head of the opposite army, Yudhiṣṭhira again wants to give up war. He tells Arjuna:

धनञ्जय कथं शक्यमस्माभिर्योद्धुमाहवे ।

(Ch. 21. Śl. 31, Citraśālā).

Again it is Arjuna who is clear-headed enough to prop up his fainting brother. Arjuna says:

न तथा बलवीर्याभ्यां जयन्ति विजिगीषवः ।
यथा सत्यानृशंस्याभ्यां धर्मेणैवोद्यमेन च ॥
त्यक्त्वाधर्मं तथा सर्वे धर्मं चोत्तममास्थिताः ॥
युध्यध्वम् अनहङ्काराः यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः ॥
*   *   *   यतः कृष्णस्ततो जयः ॥

(Ch. 21. 10-12 Citraśālā).

In these minor Gītās, it is Yudhiṣṭhira who is the Arjuna; and it is Arjuna who is the Kṛṣṇa. What an irony that he who could say युध्यध्वमनहङ्काराः should himself faint and require the same teaching from his friend and guide, the Lord!

Bhīṣma, the greatest of the figures in the Epic, is himself an example of discharging one's Dharma without passion or pride. He, with Droṇa, fought for Duryodhana, out of a sense of duty. As Karṇa comes to him after his fall, Bhīṣma advises Karṇa— युध्यस्व निरहङ्कारः.

Young Abhimanyu's death is a crisis in Yudhiṣṭhira's mind. Vyāsa here consoles him and takes him out of his dejection with the Gītā-philosophy 'न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि'.

It is because Arjuna mistakenly considered himself as the agent who was going to destroy the Kauravas, he developed a mistaken pity and talked a clever philosophy of quietism which Kṛṣṇa ridiculed. Kṛṣṇa manifested Himself in His all-consuming form of Kāla and showed him how Arjuna was but a tool, Nimittamātra, nay, how Arjuna had only to kill formally the hosts killed already by the Lord. The Lord says:

कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् प्रवृद्धो
लोकान् समाहर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तः ।
ऋतेऽपि त्वां न भविष्यन्ति सर्वे
येऽवस्थिताः प्रत्यनीकेषु योधाः ॥
तस्मात्त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व
जित्वा शत्रून् भुङ्क्ष्व राज्यं समृद्धम् ।

मयैवैते निहताः पूर्वमेव
निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन् ॥
द्रोणं च भीष्मं च जयद्रथं च
कर्णं तथान्यानपि योधवीरान् ।
मया हतांस्त्वं जहि मा व्यथिष्ठाः
युध्यस्व जेतासि रणे सपत्नान् ॥ XI. 32-4.

This humility is brought home to Arjuna's mind again in a fine situation in Ch. 203 (202 Citraśālā) of the Droṇaparvan. Arjuna showers arrows and as each arrow goes to kill one, Arjuna sees going in advance of each arrow a resplendent fire-like Being with a trident, killing the enemy in advance; and Arjuna's arrows fall on corpses, though the onlookers think that Arjuna it is who kills the enemies. Vyāsa appears before Arjuna and tells him that that Being is the Lord as Kāla, Rudra, the real destroyer. Arjuna:—

सङ्ग्रामे न्यहनं शत्रून् शरौघैर्विमलैरहम् ।
अग्रतो लक्षये यान्तं पुरुषं पावकप्रभम् ॥
ज्वलन्तं शूलमुद्यम्य यां दिशं प्रतिपद्यते ।
तस्यां दिशि विदीर्यन्ते शत्रवो मे महामुने ॥
तेन भग्नानरीन् सर्वान् मद्भग्नान् मन्यते जनः ।

203. 4-6 (Kumbh.).
202. 4-6 (Citraśālā).

Vyāsa:

ईशानं वरदं पार्थ दृष्टवानसि शङ्करम् ।
गन्धेनापि हि सङ्ग्रामे तस्य क्रुद्धस्य शत्रवः ।
विसंज्ञा हतभूयिष्ठा वेपन्ति च पतन्ति च ॥

(Śls. 10 and 25, Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

The next great situation of grief is for Dhṛtarāṣṭra who loses all his sons in the great war. And Vidura gives him the necessary advice. Here again we hear the Gītā echoing:

Vidura, Strīparvan, Ch. 2.	Gītā, II.
अभावादीनि भूतानि भावमध्यानि भारत ।	अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।

अभावनिधनान्येव तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ Śl. 6.	अव्यक्तनिधनान्येव तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ Śl. 28.
अदर्शनादापतिताः पुनश्चादर्शनं गताः । नैते तव न तेषां त्वं तत्र का परिदेवना ॥[1] Śl. 13.	
हतो हि लभते स्वर्गं जित्वा च लभते यशः । Śl. 14.	हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् । Śl. 37.
न युद्धादधिकं किञ्चित् क्षत्रियस्येह विद्यते । Śl. 18.	धर्म्याद्धि युद्धात् श्रेयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते । Śl. 31.
आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुः आत्मैव रिपुरात्मनः । Śl. 36.(35)	Same. Gītā, IV. 5.
Ch. 3.	Ch. 2. 22.
यथा जीर्णमजीर्णं वा वस्त्रं त्यक्त्वा तु पूरुषः । अन्यद्रोचयते वस्त्रम् एवं देहाः शरीरिणः ॥ Śl. 9.	वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि । तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णा- न्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥

The crisis which overtook Arjuna at the beginning of the battle overtook Yudhiṣṭhira completely after the end of the battle, especially when he learnt at the time of Tarpaṇa, that Karṇa was his elder brother. Yudhiṣṭhira became averse to going into the capital and crowning himself as king. The Gītā repeats itself here. Yudhiṣṭhira says:

यद्भैक्ष्यमाचरिष्याम वृष्ण्यन्धकपुरे वयम् ।
ज्ञातीन् निष्पुरुषान् कृत्वा नेमां प्राप्स्याम दुर्गतिम् ॥

Śānti. Ch. 7. 3. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

In the Gītā, Arjuna said:

गुरूनहत्वा हि महानुभावान्
श्रेयो भोक्तुं भैक्ष्यमपीह लोके । II. 5.

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1. This verse with a slightly different second half occurs again in Mōkṣadharma, 174-17, Citraśālā.

Yudhiṣṭhira:

त्रैलोक्यस्यापि राज्येन नास्मान् कश्चित् प्रहर्षयेत् ।

Śānti. Ch. 7. 8.

Arjuna in the Gītā:

अपि त्रैलोक्यराज्यस्य हेतोः किन्नु महीकृते ।

In this context, it is Arjuna who blazes up and asks Yudhiṣṭhira to shake off his Vaiklabya. Bhīma gives Yudhiṣṭhira an effective reply: If by retiring into the forest one could attain salvation, the deer, wild boars and birds should have attained salvation; if by not doing anything, salvation would be in hand, mountains are the greatest Siddhas!

नेमे मृगाः स्वर्गजितो न वराहा न पक्षिणः ।
अथान्येन प्रकारेण पुण्यमाहुर्न ते जनाः ॥
यदि सन्न्यासतः सिद्धिं राजा कश्चिदवाप्नुयात् ।
पर्वताश्च द्रुमाश्चैव क्षिप्रं सिद्धिमवाप्नुयुः ॥

* * * *

तस्मात् कर्मैव कर्तव्यं नास्ति सिद्धिरकर्मणः ।

Ch. 10. 23-28 (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

In Nakula's reply to Yudhiṣṭhira here, we find the Gītā-idea of Akāmakarman done without Ahaṁkāra—

अभिमानकृतं कर्म नैतत् फलवदुच्यते ।
त्यागयुक्तं महाराज सर्वमेव महाफलम् ॥

Ch. 12. 16. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

And then from Śl. 20 Nakula explains why Yajñas were established by Prajāpati, a subject which is similarly treated in Gītā, III. 9-16, सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा etc. Nakula then mentions several kinds of Yajña, Svādhyāyayajña, Jñānayajña etc. which are spoken of in the Gītā in Ch. IV—Daivayajña, Ātmasaṁyamayajña etc.

Sahadeva's reply here puts in a nutshell that the taint of 'Mamatva' is death, and freedom from it is immortality,—the essence of the Gītā-doctrine of disinterested discharge of duty.

ममेति द्व्यक्षरो मृत्युः न ममेति च शाश्वतम् । Ch. 13. 4.

In Ch. 15 here, Arjuna again points out that if fought without hate, taking it as duty, there was no sin in fighting:

मा च ते निघ्नतः शत्रून् मन्युर्भवतु भारत ।
न तत्र किल्बिषं किञ्चिद् हन्तुर्भवति भारत ॥

Ch. 15. 54. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

And varying the simile of body and clothes, Arjuna says that each new body is a new room which the Soul occupies:

यथा हि पुरुषः शालां पुनः संप्रविशेन्नवाम् ।
एवं जीवः शरीराणि तानि तानि प्रपद्यते ॥ etc.

Ch. 15. 57. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

In the next Ch. here, Bhīma expatiates on the Gītā's Guṇa, 'Sāmya', which Bhīma calls the sign of healthiness in man.

तेषां गुणानां साम्यं यत् तदाहुः स्वस्थलक्षणम् ।

Ch. 16. 13. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

Devasthāna then follows with his arguments against Yudhiṣṭhira's viewpoint. Here we find some Gītā-passages and Gītā-ideas occurring. Ch. 21, Śl. 3 (Kumbh. and Citraśālā) here runs thus:

यदा संहरते कामान् कूर्मोऽङ्गानीव सर्वशः ।
तदात्मज्योतिरचिरात् स्वात्मन्येव प्रसीदति ॥[1]

which is found in Gītā II, 58 in part. And quite in the Gītā-way is the fifth verse of Devasthāna—

यदासौ सर्वभूतानां न द्रुह्यति न काङ्क्षति ।
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा ॥

Ch. 21. 5. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

Vyāsa then appears on the scene and presents to Yudhiṣṭhira the Gītā-doctrine of Svadharma:

स्वधर्मं चर धर्मज्ञ यथाशास्त्रं यथाविधि ।

Ch. 23. 3. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

स्वधर्मे वर्तमानस्य सापवादेऽपि भारत ।
एवमात्मपरित्यागः तव राजन्न शोभनः ॥

Ch. 31. 23 (Kumbh.).
Ch. 32. 23 (Citraśālā).

Yudhiṣṭhira points to the lamenting widows of the dead warriors and denounces himself, on hearing which Vyāsa says that neither Bhīma killed nor Arjuna, but God as Kāla. And then after dis-

1. This verse occurs again in Mōkṣadharma, 174. 51, Citraśālā.

courses by a number of persons for a length of 30 chs., Yudhiṣṭhira consents to enter the city for the coronation.

The next section in which we find the Gītā restated or enlarged upon or commented upon is the Mokṣadharma section of Bhīṣma's discourse in the Śānti. In 173.40 (Kumbh.) Dākṣya is praised; in 173. 52-56 (Kumbh.), Sāmya is inculcated; in Ch. 175 (176 Citraśālā), we have the Śamyāka (Śampāka) Gītā; in Ch. 176 (177 Citraśālā), the Maṅki Gītā and the Bodhya Gītā (178 Citraśālā).

In Ch. 210,[1] occurs Nārada's prayer on Kṛṣṇa called Anusmṛti to which the Lord replies:

अहं भगवतस्तस्य मम चासौ सनातनः ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ॥ Śl. 65.

even as He said in the Gītā:

यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मयि पश्यति ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ॥ VI. 30.

Kṛṣṇa says here—

अपि पापसमाचारः स याति परमां गतिम् । Ch. 210. 69.
तस्याक्षयो भवेल्लोकः श्वपाकस्यापि नारद ।
किं पुनर्ये यजन्ते मां साधका विधिपूर्वकम् ॥ Ch. 210. 76-77.

even as He told Arjuna in the Gītā—

अपि चेत् सुदुराचारः etc.; स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्राः तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ।

Then यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि शरीरिणाम । Ch. 210. 75.
Gītā ,, ,, मनीषिणाम् । XVIII. 5.
Again—कर्माण्याद्यन्तवन्तीह मद्भक्तोऽमृतमश्नुते । Ch. 210. 77.
Gītā आद्यन्तवन्तः कौन्तेय न तेषु रमते बुधः । V. 22.

Ch. 224. Śl. 47.	Gītā. IV, 19.
न ममेति च भावेन	यस्य सर्वे समारम्भाः
ज्ञानाग्निनिलयेन च ।	कामसङ्कल्पवर्जिताः ।
अनन्तरं तथा कुर्याः	ज्ञानाग्निदग्धकर्माणं
तानि कर्माणि भस्मसात् ॥	तमाहुः पण्डितं बुधाः ॥

1. This prayer and reply are not found in the Citraśālā Edn. In the Vavilla Press Edn., it occurs in Śānti, Ch. 195.

Ch. 224. Śl. 48.	Gītā. III. 20-21.
यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठः	लोकसङ्ग्रहमेवापि
तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।	संपश्यन् कर्तुमर्हसि ।
तस्माल्लोकस्य सिद्ध्यर्थं	यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठः
कर्तव्यं चात्मसिद्धये ॥	तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ॥

Śānti, 350 Kumbh. 25: The Lord tells Arjuna: यथा प्रमाणं हि कृतं लोकस्समनुवर्तते which is found in the Gītā as: स यत् प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्समनुवर्तते । Compare also Śānti, 350-33 and Gītā VII. 16.

In Ch. 231 (224 Citraśālā) Indra asks Bali who is defeated if he was not griefstricken, to which Bali magnificently replies in the Gītā-spirit, with the refrain—तस्माच्छक्र न शोचामि corresponding to the Gītā's न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि । Verse 16 (14 Citraśālā) here is the Gītā itself.

हतं हन्ति हतो ह्येव यो नरो हन्ति कश्चन ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतः यश्च हन्ति हतश्च यः ॥

Bali tells Indra that God as Kāla has already killed and that Indra need not take pride for his prowess, even as Kṛṣṇa told Arjuna in the Gītā: मयैवैते निहताः पूर्वमेव । Bali says:

दग्धमेवानुदहते(ति) हतमेवानुहन्यते । Śl. 22. (20 Citraśālā)
मा कृथाः शक्र पौरुषम् ॥ Śl. 27. (25 ,,)

Yudhiṣṭhira then asks Bhīṣma about the proper attitude when a calamity befalls one and Bhīṣma narrates the Indra-Namuci-saṁvāda, which is of the same nature as the Indra-Bali-saṁvāda noticed above. With the same message, another Indra-Bali-saṁvāda follows in Ch. 234 (227 Citraśālā), a message which is to be seen effectively expressed in Śl. 65 here—

शोककाले शुचो मा त्वं हर्षकाले च मा हृषः ॥

In the Asita-Jaigīṣavya-saṁvāda in Ch. 236 (229 Citraśālā), Bhīṣma teaches Stuti-Nindā-Avikriyā, the Nirdvandvatā of the Gītā. In Ch. 245 (230 Citraśālā), Vyāsa enlightens his son Śuka and here we find the 19th verse as one from the Gītā:

विद्याभिजनसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥[1]

1. *See also* Śānti, Mokṣadharma, 308, Śls. 32-3 for the same idea and similar expression.

This and some succeeding chapters, Vyāsa calls Sāmkhya. Another Gītā-verse occurring in this Sāmkhya-section of Vyāsa's teaching to his son is—

सर्वतः पाणिपादं तत् सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।
सर्वतः श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ॥

Ch. 245. 29 (Kumbh). Ch. 239. 29 (Citraśālā). Gītā XIII, 13. Vyāsa then teaches Yoga in Ch. 246, stressing Sāmya and Nirdvandvatā. In Ch. 247 (241 Citraśālā), Śuka asks the question which Arjuna asks in the beginning of Ch. 3 of the Gītā: Why this contradiction—do Karman and give up Karman? कुरु कर्म त्यजेति च । And Vyāsa here gives the reply which Kṛṣṇa gave. In Ch. 257 (251 Citraśālā) is repeated the Gītā-verse आपूर्यमाणमचलप्रतिष्ठं etc.

In Ch. 268 (262 Citraśālā) a shop-keeper teaches magnificent wisdom to a Brahmin named Jājali. Like the Dharmavyādha, this shop-keeper does a Svadharmayoga with his avocation[1]. He says:

या वृत्तिः स परो धर्मः तेन जीवामि जाजले । Śl. 6.
नानुरुध्ये विरुध्ये वा न द्वेष्मि न च कामये ।
समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु पश्य मे जाजले व्रतम् ॥ Śl. 10.

This is followed by a number of verses in the Gītā-manner. In Ch. 270 (264 Citraśālā), the Tulādhāra says:

श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषः यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः । Śl. 17.

which can be found in the Gītā, XVII, 3.

In the next Ch. (265 Citraśālā), Bhīṣma presents the golden mean of युक्ताहारविहार युक्तचेष्ट found in the Gītā.

यथा शरीरं न म्लायेन्नैव मृत्युवशं भवेत् ।
तथा कर्मसु वर्तेत समर्थो धर्ममाचरेत् ॥ Śl. 15. (14 Citraśāla)

In Ch. 275 here, Kapila puts it more definitely—

नानशनः स्यान्न महाशनः स्यात् । (267. 76. Citraśālā)

which echoes the Gītā:

नात्यन्तमश्नतोऽप्यस्ति न चात्यन्तमनश्नतः ।

In Ch. 279 (273 Citraśālā), Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma the question which Arjuna puts in Gītā, III, 36—

1. For a similar Tulādhāracarita, see the Padmapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama edn.) Vol. III, Chs. 47 and 50.

अथ केन प्रयुक्तोऽयं पापं चरति पूरुषः ।

and like Kṛṣṇa, Bhīṣma traces Pāpa to Kāma. (Śls. 3-12).

Ch. 284 (278 Citraśālā) has a Hārīta Gītā; ch. 285 (279 Citraśālā) a Vṛtra Gītā; and chs. 296-304 (290-298 Citraśālā) a Parāśara Gītā, in all of which many Gītā-ideas are given expression to.

In ch. 306, it is pointed out, as in the Gītā, that the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga are identical.

उभे चैते मते तत्त्वे मम तात युधिष्ठिर । Śl. 7. (300. 8. Citraśālā) an idea which is again emphasised in ch. 310-30 and ch. 321. 2-4. (305.19 and 316.4 Citraśālā):

यदेव योगाः पश्यन्ति साङ्ख्यैस्तदवगम्यते ।
एकं साङ्ख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स बुद्धिमान् (तत्त्ववित्) ॥

found almost in identical words in the Gītā, V. 4-5.

In the Āśvamedhika, Yudhiṣṭhira is again sad; the coronation upsets him and a desire to retire into the forests seizes him again. Vyāsa convinces him with Gītā-arguments that Yudhiṣṭhira must stay in the kingdom. In the same context, the Lord Himself tells Yudhiṣṭhira that Kāma can never be eradicated totally but must be turned into paths of Dharma; for has He not said in the Gītā धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ? (VI. 11.)

It is in the Āśvamedhika that a supplementary Gītā called the Anugītā, about twice longer than the Bha. Gītā, occurs in chs. 17-51.[1] Arjuna tells Kṛṣṇa that he had forgotten the Gītā and asks Him to repeat His discourse. Kṛṣṇa chides him and gives out his teachings in the form of Itihāsas or old dialogues. This Anugītā is written entirely in the Gītā-spirit and the Gītā-vocabulary. A detailed comparison will be interesting though impossible here. Some striking similarities cannot however be ignored. In ch. 20 here, we find the verses:

सर्वमित्रः सर्वसहः शमे रक्तो जितेन्द्रियः ।
व्यपेतभयमन्युश्च कामहा मुच्यते नरः ॥

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1. In the Citraśālā Press Edn., the Anugītāparvan begins at ch. 16 and goes up to the end of the Āśvamedhika in ch. 92. Within this, this Edn. calls ch. 20 *Brahma Gītā*; chs. 21-34, *Brāhmaṇa Gītā*; chs. 35-51, Guruśiṣyasaṁvāda; chs. 53-51, Uttaṅkopākhyāna.

आत्मवत् सर्वभूतेषु यश्चरेन्नियतः शुचिः ।
अमानी निरभीमानः सर्वतो मुक्त एव सः ॥
जीवितं मरणं चोभे सुखदुःखे तथैव च ।
लाभालाभे प्रियद्वेष्ये यः समः स च मुच्यते ॥
न कस्यचित् स्पृहयते नावजानाति किञ्चन ।
निर्द्वन्द्वो वीतरागात्मा सर्वथा मुक्त एव सः ॥

(Ch. 19. 2ff, Citraśālā.)

and so on—verses which ordinarily may be mistaken to occur in the Gītā itself. Having communicated the Anugītā, Kṛṣṇa again asks Arjuna in the same words of the Gītā:

कच्चिदेतत्त्वया पार्थ श्रुतमेकाग्रचेतसा ।

Ch. 20. Śl. 55. (19. 55 Citraśālā.)

Śl. 62 here is, again, a Gītā-verse:

इमं धर्मं समास्थाय येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।
स्त्रियो वैश्याः तथा शूद्राः तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥
किं पुनः ब्राह्मणाः पार्थ क्षत्रिया वा बहुश्रुताः ॥

Ch. 20. Śl. 62, (19. 61-62 Citraśālā.)

Ch. 41 (44. Citraśālā) of this Anugītā is a recast of the Vibhūti-yogādhyāya of the Gītā. The difference between these two chapters is that what is called the best of each class in the Vibhūtiyoga-chapter of the Gītā is called here the primal manifestation in that class,—Ādi.

आदित्यो ज्योतिषामादिः अग्निर्भूतादिरुच्यते ।
सावित्री सर्वविद्यानां देवतानां प्रजापतिः ॥
ओंकारः सर्ववेदानां वचसां प्राण एव च ।
गायत्री छन्दसामादिः ।
गावः चतुष्पदामादिः मनुष्याणां द्विजातयः ।
श्येनः पतत्रिणामादिः ।
हिरण्यं सर्वरत्नानाम् ।
अहं प्रजापतीनां सर्वेषाम् ।
पर्वतानां महामेरुः etc. [1]

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1. For a similar Vibhūti-yoga embodied in a hymn on Śiva in the M. Bhārata itself, *see* Anuśāsana, ch. 45, Śls. 305-314 and Śānti; 290, 129ff.

The next situation of a Gītā character is Kṛṣṇa's meeting with the Brāhmaṇa Udaṅka (Uttaṅka) who, on hearing of the war and the death of the Kauravas, began to curse Kṛṣṇa because, being capable of preventing that huge man-slaughter, Kṛṣṇa did not do His best to prevent it. Kṛṣṇa laid before Udaṅka the ultimate principles and His own real nature—the same method with which He brought round Arjuna on the battlefield. The whole of ch. 54 is based on the Gītā. One verse can be pointed out as the essence. Kṛṣṇa says (54. 16 Citraśālā):

धर्मस्य सेतुं बध्नामि चलिते चलिते युगे ।

Cf. यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य etc. Gītā. And the Lord then, to complete Udaṅka's understanding, shows him, as He showed Arjuna, His own Viśvarūpa. Udaṅka realises that "All this is the Imperishable Lord Himself":

विश्वकर्मन्नमस्तेऽस्तु विश्वात्मन् विश्वसम्भव ।
पद्भ्यां ते पृथिवी व्याप्ता शिरसा चावृतं नभः ॥
द्यावापृथिव्योर्यन्मध्यं जठरेण समावृतम ।
भुजाभ्यामावृता आशाः त्वमिदं सर्वमच्युत ॥

Āśvam. 55. 12-13. (Kumbh.)
55. 7-8. (Citraśālā.)

APPENDIX

An Alphabetical List of the Gītās.[1]

Recent imaginative expounders of the Bhagavad Gītā attach great significance to the name Gītā and, taking suggestion from the meaning 'song', emphasise that this scripture of the Hindus is not a difficult metaphysical text but that, like song, it appeals and produces 'Sāmarasya' and so on. The feminine form 'Gītā' is not quite happy then. It is invariably found, when quoted, in plural number as 'Gītāḥ'. Therefore 'Gītāḥ' does not stand by itself, but qualifies 'Upaniṣadaḥ', which forms the noun. It is only very rarely that 'Gītā' in the singular number occurs. In all the Gītās occurring in the Mahābhārata and in several other contexts of a similar nature in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas also, we find 'Gītam Itihāsam' 'Gītāḥ ślokāḥ'. To this characteristic old

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1. With acknowledgments to Mr. E. P. Rādhākṛṣṇan, M.A., who made the provisional compilation of the Gītās.

expression 'Gītāḥ ślokāḥ' 'Gītah Itihāsaḥ' it is that we have to relate the name Gītā. The feminine form however is due to the Bhagavad Gītā, where the noun is 'Upaniṣadah' and it is, again, after the name 'Bhagavad Gītā', that the form in the singular number also became current.

It is natural that the large number of the Gītās has been suggesting the idea of their collected publication to scholars and publishers from time to time. In 1910, Mr. V. Kuppusvāmi Rāju began issuing from Tanjore his "Gītaikkottu" (Bunch of Gītās) with Tamil translations. In 1911 appeared from Calcutta "the Gītāgranthāvalī", twenty-five Gītās with Bengali versions, ed. by Upendranāth Mukhopādhyāya. In 1915, Ashtekar Co. of Poona published a volume of Gītās called the 'Gītāsaṅgraha', being the first part of a series unfortunately discontinued. A number of Gītās still remain to be published as can be seen from the following list.

The Gītās admit of a broad classification into close imitations of the Bhagavad Gītā, short dialogues or discourses of eminent persons on a single or a select number of moral and spiritual principles, like the Maṅki, Bodhya and other Gītās in the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, and others which are mere hymns or glorifications (Māhātmyas) like the Guru Gītā stotra. This classification applies to the Gītās in general and not to the translation of Christian scripture or the account of Gāndhiji's Satyāgraha movement which bear the name Gītā or to the satirical Gītā like the Congress Gītā1.

Agastya Gītā.—Varāha purāṇa; chs. 51-67, Venk. edn.; begins on p. 259 (ch. 51) in Bib. Ind. edn. Agastya enlightens King Bhadrāśva. Agastya appears even in ch. 50 describing some Vratas; evidently the theme of 'Vratas' is not enough to make a discourse a 'Gītā'. In ch. 51 Bhadrāśva enquires of Mokṣadharma and here the Agastya Gītā begins. Agastya teaches spiritual wisdom through the parable of king Paśupāla; this Paśupālopākhyāna extends only up to ch. 53. Then again Agastya begins the Vratas which go up to ch. 65 where the colophon calls the section Agastya Gītā; chs. 66-67 dealing with the greatness and worship of Viṣṇu are also called Agastya Gītā. Even after this Agastya continues to be the speaker.

Adbhuta Gītā or *Nānaka Gītā.*—8 chs. purporting to be an original work of Nānak. Sikhism.

com. Kaiśavapada by Keśavānandasvāmin.

1. I am told that there is also a modern 'छागीता' on 'Tea' belonging to this comic category.

Edn. with Notes and Hindi version by Śaṅkarānanda Avadhūta. Moradabad, 1901. Br. Mu. Pt. Bks. Cat. 1892-1906. Col. 405.[1]

Adhyātma Gītā.—Vedānta, Peters VI. 266.

Anu Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Āśvamedhika, chs. 17-95.

For contents etc. *see* body of the article, above.

Arjuna Gītā.—Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda on Sannyāsa. TD. 9094. Other mss. also available.

Avadhūta Gītā.—By Dattātreya. 8 chs., also called Svātmasaṁvittyupadeśa; in some colophons is added 'Svāmi Kārtika saṁvāde' the meaning of which is not borne out by the text, the first three chapters of which are put in the mouth of 'Avadhūta' and the rest in the mouth of Datta.

Subject Advaita; sings eloquently of the state in which Advaita has been realised. Śls. 2-4, in last ch., are found in the Bhāgavata, XI, ch. 11 (Śls. 29-31) also.

The above account is based on a pocket edn. of this Gītā, of the N. S. Press, 1913. It is included in the Gītā saṅgraha (No. 8). Other edns. also are available. This Gītā has been commented upon by many.

In the Mss. MD. 4543 MT. 3231. 4063. 4115. 4249, the work is also called Avadhūta grantha and is described as a dialogue between Dattātreya and Gorakṣa. In some other Mss. it is called 'Śvātmopadeśa' and 'Datta Gītā' or 'Dattātreya Gītā' also. B. IV. 30 and 90 mention a Vidyā Gītā by Dattātreya and B. IV. 36, an Adbhuta Gītā by the same. These two are evidently the same Avadhūta Gītā of which name *Adbhuta* Gītā seems to be a corruption.

In a Jodhpur ms. (No. 871) this Avadhūta Gītā of Dattātreya is assigned to the Siṁhādrikhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa. Jodhpur has a Datta Gorakṣa Gītā. Is it identical with this Gītā? Hiralal's CPB Catalogue mentions a Gorakṣa Gītā assigned to Dharma(?) —no. 1508.

In three Tanjore mss. (TD. 7589-91), this work is called Vedāntasāra.

Avadhūta Gītā.—The Bhāgavata, XI. chs. 7 Śl. 25-9. Śl. 29. Kumbh. edn. This section is not called a Gītā in the Kumb. edn. but is so called in a ms. for which *see* L. 4047.

Aśmaka Gītā.—The Mokṣasāmrājyalakṣmītantra is a compilation of moral and spiritual texts embodying many well-known texts

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1. The abbreviations used here for catalogues are as found in the Provisional Fasciculus of the New Catalogus Catalogorum of the Madras University.

and extracts therefrom. One of these is given as the Aśmaka Gītā from the Rājadharma section of the Mahābhārata. *See* T.D. Vol. XIII. p. 5659. This Aśmaka Gītā is ch. 27 Kumbh., ch. 28 Citraśālā, of the Rājadharma, where Aśmā, a Brāhmaṇa, teaches king Janaka the moral principles to be observed by kings. Neither editon of the Epic, however, calls this ch. Aśma Gītā, though Śl. 2 here has the words 'Aśma Gītam (itihāsam)' which mode of expression forms the basis for the names Maṅki Gītā, Bodhya Gītā etc.

Aṣṭāvakra Gītā or Avadhūtānubhūti, or Aṣṭāvakrasaṁhitā, or Aṣṭ. sūkta, or Adhyātmaśāstra, or Aṣṭāvakra simply, or Aṣṭ. grantha, or Aṣṭ. prakaraṇa. Advaita. Aṣṭāvakra's teachings to king Janaka. 20 or 21 short chs.

Numerous mss., many edns. No. 7 in the Gītāsaṅgraha.

Ātmadarśana Gītā by Buddhisāgara. Jain modern; 182 stanzas. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-28. 202.

Īśvara Gītā.—Sometimes called Śiva Gītā also. Kūrmapurāṇa. Uttarabhāga, chs. 1-11, forming the first part of Vyāsagītā which is another name of the whole of Book II of the Kūrmapurāṇa.

Subject: Adv., Yoga, Śiva-bhakti. Speaker: Śiva. Verses: 426.

Many parallels in thought and expression between this and Bha. Gītā. Here Śiva as Cosmic dancer, shows his dancing Viśvarūpa form, which is first described and is then followed by a hymn. Another noteworthy parallel is a Vibhūtiyoga ch. containing numerous verbal parallels with the same in the Bhagavad Gītā.

1. English Transl. by L. Kannoo Mal, M. A. Motilal Banarsi Das, Lahore, 1924. Intro. draws attention to Gītā-parallels.

2. L'Īśvaragītā, Fr. Edn. Text in Roman with Fr. Transl., Intro., Notes, and concordance of parallels with Bh. gītā, Śvetāśvatara and Kaṭha Ups.

Utathya Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Rājadharma, chs. 90-91, Citraśālā Press Edn. Subject: Rājadharma; expounded by sage Utathya to king Māndhātā.

Kumbh. chs. 90-91, but here not called a Gītā but only Ucathya Māndhātṛsaṁvāda.

Uttara Gītā.—a Kṛṣṇa-Arjuna saṁvāda in three chs. on Praṇava and its Upāsanā and other Advaitic principles; sometimes ascribed to the Āśvamedhikaparvan and sometimes to the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata, but occurring in neither parvan in the Great Epic; frequently confounded with the Anugītā, an almost identical name, occurring in the Āśvamedhika of the Great Epic Edn. Vāṇī Vilās, Śrī Raṅgam, 1910 with a Garuḍapāda's gloss.

Uttara Gītāsāra.—Advaita. Mysore II, p. 22. Extracts from this ms. were got and the text calls itself at the beginning Gītāsāra and Uttaragītāsāra in the colophon. It purports to contain 22 chs. of which the last is described as Gītāsārayoga. It assigns itself to the Bhīṣmaparvan.

Beginning:

अर्जुन उवाच—

वेदादिमूलं सकलस्वराणाम् + त्रिरत्नमूलं पुरुषं नमामि ॥ गीतासारं महापुण्यं यः पठेत् सततं नरः । etc.

End: यत्र योगीश्वरः कृष्णः etc. Follows another mystifying verse: स्वाभ्याम् (?) तु सुलभो ह्यात्मा नाभ्यामुपरि तिष्ठति । द्वाभ्यां त्रिभिः चतुर्भिश्च पञ्चभिः षड्भिः जगदिति ॥

Col: इति श्रीमहाभा० शतसा० वैया० भीष्मपर्वणि उत्तरगीता-सारोपनिषत्सु परब्रह्मविद्यायां योग० श्रीकृष्ण० गीतासारयोगो नाम द्वाविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

This is a text different from the Uttara Gītā and the Gītā also.

Uddhava Gītā.—The teachings of Kṛṣṇa to Uddhava in Skandha XI of the Śrīmad Bhāgavata purāṇa appear to have this name also. *See* Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 492.

Ṛbhu Gītā.—Advaita; 27 chs.; from the Śivarahasya, Book VI. Adyar I. p. 136a. Alwar 2063. Extr. 612. L. 2333. MD. 4567. Many more mss.

A Tamil transl. of this by Pichu Śāstrin alias Lokanātha-svāmin is available in print. There is an edn. in Telugu script with Telugu rendering.

Ṛṣabha Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Rājadharma, chs. 125-128 Citra-śālā. On 'Āśā'; dialogue between sage Ṛṣabha and king Sumitra; same chs. in Kumbh. but not called Gītā there.

Ṛṣabha Gītā.—On the Avatāra of Viṣṇu called Ṛṣabha. Hpr. III. 45.

Paliyam 871 (d) is entered as a Ṛṣabha Gītā without any more specification.

Aila Gītā.—The Bhāgavata, XI. 26. Kumb. edn. On Duṣṭa-saṅga and Satsaṅga.

Oṁkāra Gītā.—TD. 23943. Is this Oṁkāramāhātmya or the Gītāsāra for which *see* TD. 8930.

Kapila Gītā.—The Bhāgavata, Skandha III, chs. 25-32 Kumb. edn. Kapila's teachings to His mother Devahūti.[1]

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. (No. 6).

Kapila Gītā.—A Vedantic dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī in 5 chs. For an analysis of its contents *see* L. 1676. MD. 4343. TD. 8998. The last ms. adds the information that this Gītā belongs to the Padmapurāṇa.

Different from this, there is a Yogic text in 5 chs. ascribed to Kapilamuni and called in the colophons and outer sheets of mss. *Dṛṣṭāntara, Kapila Gītā* and *Siddhāntasāra Kapilā Gītā.* See TD. 6737-6742 and notes on these mss. on p. 4967, TD. XI. For a Siddhāntasāra which is said to be from the Padmapurāṇa, is a Saṁvāda between Kapila and Siddharṣi and is also called Kapila Gītā, *see* TD. 6753.

Karma Gītā.—Ascribed to Padma purāṇa, but not found in the Ānandāśrama edn. of that purāṇa. Kṛṣṇārjunasaṁvāda; on Karmans, good and bad, and their consequences. Very defective Sanskrit.

TD. 9054. Telugu Academy 58. Ujjain 1726.

Kāvaṣeya Gītā.—Granthappura p. 6. Descriptive catalogue of the same, Vol. I, nos. 107-8.

In both these mss., there is a gloss which informs us that the Kāvaṣeyas imparted this Gītā to Durvāsas; that this Gītā appears in the Vyāsa-Sanatkumāra saṁvāda in the Brahmapurāṇa.

The Ānandāśrama edn. of the Brahma however, does not contain any Gītā like this.

Kāśī Gītā.—Another name, according to MD. 2462, of the Pañcakrośīmāhātmya on the greatness on the Ganges, from the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.

[*Kṛṣṇa Gītā.*—TD. 9098. The New Tanjore catalogue is wrong in describing this as a Gītā. It is, as Burnell says, a commentary on the M. Bhārata, Paulomaparvan.]

Kaula Gītā.—Śākta. Adyar II. p. 184b.

Khriṣṭu Gītā.—14 chs. A Sanskrit version of the Bible.

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1. There is an imitation and reproduction of this in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, ch. 7, where like Kapila teaching His mother Devahūti, Rāma teaches His mother, Kausalyā. The following is a concordance of the corresponding verses in the two places:

Adhy. Utt. VII.		Bhāgavata, III. 29.
Śls. 52-66	=	Śls. 7-21.
„ 67-70	=	„ 24-27.
Śl. 71	=	Śl. 34.
„ 73	=	„ 35.

The verses are identical except for some verbal changes.

MD. 14933. 14934.

Gaṇeśa Gītā.—Dialogue between Gaṇeśa and Vareṇya. Gaṇeśa Himself as supreme God expounds Karma (4 chs.), Bhakti (4 chs.) and Jñāna (3 chs.). Verbal imitations of the Bhagavad Gītā abound here; 11 chs.

Edn. Ānandāśrama 52, with Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's gloss.

Found as chs. 138-148 of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Gaṇeśa purāṇa, Gopāl Nārāyan Co., Bombay, 1892.

4th in the collection Gītāsaṅgraha.

Garbha Gītā.—8 chs. Vedānta. L. 2143. TD. 9056-64. MD. 2413-16. Mysore I. p. 177 (from M. Bhā.). Dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna.

The colophons to MD. 2413 and TD. 9056 consider this as a part of the Bha. Gītā itself! named after the opening गर्भवासजरामृत्युः etc. Arjuna asks why man should inhabit a womb, be born, grow old, die etc. Defective Sanskrit.

Ak. 129 is a Garbha Gītā said to be from the Viṣṇupurāṇa; Ak. 129.

Ānandāśrama 3205 is a गर्भगीता given as mantra.

Ed. by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya in his collection of Gītās.

Gītā prapūrti.—A series of extracts from the Śrīmad Bhāgavatapurāṇa so as to form a supplement expanding the teachings of the Gītā[1]; with a gloss. By Gaura Govindarāya; Calcutta 1902. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 491.

Guru Gītā.—According to Adyar II. app. b, there is a Guru Gītā belonging to the Viśvasāratantra.

L. 445 and Cs. V. 18: Guru Gītā ascribed to the Rudrayāmala or the Brahmayāmala.

Some entries ascribe it to Vyāsa. B. IV. 50. Oppert 7466 (Vedānta).

Numerous mss. of a Guru Gītā from the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Skāndapurāṇa are found in the Catalogues.

The text in all these seems to be the same, styled a stotra, on the greatness of 'preceptor'.

Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 508 mentions a Guru Gītā or Sujñānadīpa in 4 chs., supposed to be from Skānda, Uttarakhaṇḍa, the theme being 'Advaita teachers'.

Gorakṣanātha Gītā.—CPB. notices a Gītā of this name and gives the author as Gorakṣanātha and subject as Dharma! Jodhpur

1. On the Gītā and the Bhāgavata, *see* Dr. V. Raghavan, J.O.R. Madras, Vol. IX, pp. 156-169; 238-254.

has a Gorakṣa Gītā under Yoga and a Datta Gorakṣa Gītā under Tantra. Ujjain, no. 1728, is an anon. Gorakṣa Gītā and in the Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906, Cols. 391-2, we find a Gorakṣanātha Gītā, Saptaślokī, Yoga, a panegyric on Gorakṣanātha.

Govinda Gītā.—Oppert P. 7545.

Is this a mistake for 'Gītagovinda'?

Janma Gītā.—CPB. 1731. Dharma?

Jīvanmukti Gītā.—TD. 9089. 9090. Kṛṣṇārjunasaṁvāda; defective Sanskrit; on the characteristics of the Jīvanmuktas.

AK. 758 has a Jīvanmukti Gītā which is ascribed to Dattātreya, to whom the Avadhūta Gītā is attributed. The Tanjore text of the Jīvanmukti Gītā does not agree with any part of Dattātreya's Avadhūta Gītā.

Jñāna Gītā.—Advaita. No. XXXVI of the Jaṭāśaṅkar Mss. in the H. P. T, College, Nasik.

Tattva Gītā.—A medical tract in 18 chs. Vaiṣṇava; Bhakti; purporting to belong to a 'Mūlaveda'. Edn. with Gujarati transl., com. etc. by Bhajanānanda Guru Brahmānanda, Vithalpur, Ahmedabad, 1911. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-28, Col. 1080.

Tattvasāra Gītā.—Ānandāśrama 6631. Compare Sāra Gītā below. Compare Tattvasāra, TD. 6736, a Saṁvāda between Īśvara and Kārttikeya on Yogic and Vedāntic topics in six chapters.

Tulasī Gītā.—Ed. in the Gītāgranthāvalī by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta. 1911.

Dāyūdo Gītā (David Gītā).—Oppert's old Index to the mss. in the Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, Madras.

This seems to be identical with the Sanskrit metrical version of "The Psalms of David" made by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries with Native Assistants, printed in Devanāgarī at Calcutta in 1839 and in Telugu characters at Madras in 1843. American Mission Press, Madras 1849. In this last mentioned edn., the book is not called 'Gītā' but 'Gītāni'.

Devī Gītā.—Assigned to the Kūrmapurāṇa. Hpr. I. 174. This is represented by ch. 12 of the Kūrma, Bib. Ind. edn., where however, the name Devī Gītā is not given. Devī, as soon as She is born as daughter to Himavān shows him Her Viśvarūpa, telling Him in the words of the Gītā:

दिव्यं ददामि ते चक्षुः पश्य मे रूपमैश्वरम् ।

Himavān has a prayer on Her in which the Vibhūtiyoga of the Gītā repeats itself; *see* pp. 130-131. Then Devī gives Upadeśa to Her father Himavān, pp. 136-143, in which Gītā-ideas and Gītā-phrases occur.

Devī Gītā.—Devībhāgavata, 7th Skandha. Venk. edn. Chs, 31-34. Devī as daughter of Himavān expounds Her true form. Bhakti, Karman and Jñāna to Her father.

Also called Bhagavatī Gītā. No. 5 in the Gītāsaṅgraha.

Dhīśa Gītā.—A metrical exposition, in 7 chs., of monism and Yoga, cosmology and theology by Gaṇeśa. Benares, 1920, Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-28, Col. 276.

Nānaka Gītā.—*See* Adbhuta Gītā above.

Nārada Gītā.—On Gurubhakti; Kṛṣṇa Nārada saṁvāda; 42 verses; defective Sanskrit.

IO. 5982. TD. 9091. Other Mss. also available. Printed: Benares, 1915.

Nārāyaṇa Gītā.—Rāmānanda sect, by Nīlakaṇṭha. Oxf. 302.

Nīlā Gītā.—30 psalms. Sanskrit translation of the Tamil Tiruppāvai of Śrī Āṇḍāḷ or Gōdādēvī, by Govardhanam Raṅgācārya. Bangalore 1898. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 428.

Parama Gītā.—BORI. 407 of 1895-1902. Mr. P. K. Gode was kind enough to supply me with extracts from this ms. In two colophons it is called Paramasāra Gītā and in one verse at the end Dharma Gītā. The final colophon calls it Parama Gītā. 16 chs Jaina Dharma.

Parāśara Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharma. Chs 296-304. 291-298. Citraśālā. Parāśara teaches Janaka; subject: Dharma with reference to the different Varṇas and Āśramas and with general reference to Mokṣa.

Included also in Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya's Gītāgranthāvalī.

Pāṇḍava Gītā.—Also called Prapanna Gītā.

Numerous Mss. and edns. Available in the Bṛhatstotraratnākara. No. 12 in the Gītāsaṅgraha. Mostly prayers to Kṛṣṇa, one verse spoken by each of the characters of the M. Bhārata and other sages.

Pitṛ Gītā.—Varāhapurāṇa, Bib. Ind. Edn., pp. 100-101. On Śrāddha; Ślokas sung by the manes: Ch. 13. Śls. 49-59.

Included also in the Gītāgranthāvalī of Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya.

Pitṛgītā [Kathana].—On Pitṛbhakti, Fl. 19; claims to form part of Takṣakavaṁśaprakāśa of the Padmapurāṇa. 42 verses. I am not able to find this out in the Ānandāśrama edn. of the Padmapurāṇa in four volumes.

Pṛthivī Gītā.—Ed. in the Gītāgranthāvalī by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya.

Praṇava Gītā.—Spoken by Sūtapaurāṇika. Mysore I. p. 177. TD. 9093.

Prapanna Gītā.—Another name of Pāṇḍava Gītā. *See* above.

Prākṛta Gītā (?)—Upaniṣadbrahma Mutt. 589.

Bodhānanda Gītā.—A metrical summary in 12 chs. of 10 principal Upaniṣads by Bodhānandayajvan, pupil of Brahmānanda. Kalpati 1909. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-28. Col. 174.

Bodhya Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharma, ch. 177, Śls. 57-68 Kumbh. 178 Citraśālā. On Nirveda in all desires.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī.

Brahma Gītā.—Yogavāsiṣṭha[1], N. S. Edn. 1918, VI, (Nirvāṇaprakaraṇa) Uttarārdha, ch. 128 and 173-186. Advaita.

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. No. 13b.

Brahma Gītā.—Skānda, Sūtasaṁhitā, 4th section called Yajñavaibhavakhaṇḍa, Uparibhāga, Chs. 1-12. Brahman expounds Advaita and the greatness of Śiva. Edn. Ānandāśrama 25 with Mādhavācārya's gloss.

Included as No. 13a in the Gītāsaṅgraha.

Brāhmaṇa Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Āśvamedhika, Anugītā subsection Chs. 20 34. Ch. 20 is called Brahma Gītā in the Citraśālā edn. which is evidently an error for Brāhmaṇa Gītā. The Kumbh. Edn. does not give such a sub-division of the Anugītā.

Bhakta Gītā.—*See* Auf. CC. I. p. 389b (Rādh. 43) where a Bhakta Gītā Ṭīkā is noticed.

Bhagavatī Gītā.—Another name of the Devī Gītā from the Devībhāgavata. *See* Devī Gītā above.

Bhavānīśaṅkara Gītā.—A part of the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa. *See* MD. 2141, p. 1457, (colophon) and IO. 3422. (colophon).

Bhikṣu Gītā.—S. R. Bhaṇḍarkar's Report of II Tour. in Rajaputana and Central India, p. 9. Ānandāśrama 3274. Edn. with Bengali transl. Calcutta, 1876.

This is evidently ch. 23 of Skandha 11 of the Śrīmad Bhāgavata, dealing with the ways to put up with sorrow and other afflictions.

Bhṛgu Gītā.—TD. 9092.

Maṅki Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharma, ch. 176, Śls. 4-54. Kumbh. 177 Citraśālā.

On the greater happiness of the renunciation of wishes as compared to their gratification.

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1. Yogavāsiṣṭha, Nirvaṇa prakaraṇa, chs. 52-58, contain the largest number of quarter, half and full Gītā stanzas. *See* Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Bha. Gītā, by Mr. P. C. Divanji, Proceedings of the 12th Indian Philosophical Congress, 1936.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī.

Mṛtyuñjaya Gītā.—Hara gaurī saṁvāda. On Japa, Stotra, Brahmacintā etc. Hpr. I. 291.

Yama Gītā.—Agnipurāṇa, ch. 382. Ānandāśrama edn. Yama's spiritual teachings to Naciketas.

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. No. 10(c).

Yama Gītā.—Viṣṇudharma: Dharmarāja-yamadūta saṁvāda; ch. 20. On the avoiding of the Vaiṣṇavas by Death and his agents. MD. 14323.

The colophon does not give the name Yamagītā.

Yama Gītā.—From the Viṣṇupurāṇa, III. ch. 7.

This is however not called Yamagītā in the Venk. edn. of the Viṣṇupurāṇa.

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. No. 10(a).

All the Yama Gītās, except the one in the Agnipurāṇa, are of the same topic: Yama's instructions to his Bhaṭas not to touch devotees of Viṣṇu.

Yama Gītā.—Skānda. Lz. 333. Yama's instructions to his agents not to approach for killing the devotees of Viṣṇu. Similar eulogies of Viṣṇubhaktas by Yama occur in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, III. and the Bhāgavata, Ajāmilopākhyāna.

Yama Gītā.—From the Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa, ch. 8. Gopal Narayan & Co. Edn. (1911). Subject same as in the above.

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. No. 10(b).

BBRAS. 1348. Yama Gītā stotra from the Skānda.

Yājñavalkya Gītā.—In 12 chs.; a dialogue between sage Yājñavalkya and Gārgī, his wife.

Calcutta Skr. College, III. 96; IO. 2494-5994; MD. 4362-4; TD. 6745-6746.

Different from this is the text (in 12 chs.) of the Yogiyājñavalkīya (IO. 2495), though the Y. Gītā is also called in some mss. Yoga Y. Gītā. The Yogiyājñavalkīya is addressed by Y. to the sages.

The Yā. Gītā is also called Yā. Saṁhitopaniṣad.

For edns. *see* Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906, Col. 391-2.

Yoga Gītā.—Ānadāśrama 7657. Jodhpur. p. 56.

Rāgi Gītā.—Quoted by Vidyāraṇya in his Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣyavārtikasāra, Chowkamba Edn. 1919, p. 57, Śl. 49. *See also* the Taittirīyāraṇyakabhāṣya of Sāyaṇa, Ānandāśrama Edn., Pt. II, p. 472.

'तथा च रागिगीतायां पठ्यते वचनं त्विदम् ।
अपि बृन्दावने शून्ये श्रृगालत्वं स इच्छति ।
न तु निर्विषयं मोक्षं कदाचिदपि गौतम ॥'

Rāma Gītā.—Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, ch. 5. Śls. 1-62. Rāma's Upadeśa to Lakṣmaṇa. *See* Calcutta Skr. Series Edn. Pt. II. pp. 969-1001. Advaita. For an English transl. of this, *see* above edn., Pt I. Intro. pp. 60-69. Included in the Gītā-saṅgraha as No. 2. *See also* Bṛhatstotra Ratnākara, Gujarathi Press Edn. Vol. II. pp. 533 ff.

Rāma Gītā.—From the Tattvasārāyaṇa; 18 chs. Ed. by G. Krishna Sastri, Adyar, Ātmavidyā Series, I. *Ibid.* II, transl. in English.

For Mss. *see* Adyar I. p. 140a. This expounds the Anubha-vādvaita.

Rāma Gītā.—Skānda, Nirvāṇakhaṇḍa; different from the previous; in 3 chs. (?).

For a Ms. *see* Cs, IV, 290.

Rāmagītāstotra.—Lz. 197, 3. Ascribed to Rāmānuja (?).

Rāsa Gītā.—Said to be from the Rāsollāsatantra.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī.

Rudra Gītā.—The Bhāgavata, IV. 24. Śls. 33-79. Kumbh. edn. Rudra on Viṣṇu's greatness. Some Mss. call this Rudra Gītā, though it is not so called in the Kumbh. edn.

Alwar 2325. Bhan Dāji. 71. Kotah 1077.

Rudra Gītā.—Varāhapurāṇa, Chs. 70-89.

Agastya who is the speaker in the previous chs. introduces Rudra in ch. 70 and makes Him speak about Viṣṇu as the supreme object of worship. Poor Śiva is made to say that He invented the 'Mohaśāstra' of Pāśupata to delude some people, and in ch. 71 is made to invent a story to explain why He gave out that Śāstra. In ch. 73 Viṣṇu shows Rudra His own Nārāyaṇa form, on the waters with Brahman in his naval. Rudra has a hymn on this form; this ch. corresponds to the Viśvarūpadarśana and Arjuna's prayer to Viśvarūpa in the Bhagavad Gītā. In ch. 74 Rudra begins a mythological geography, history and cosmogony, Bhuvanakośa, a prose account, with which the Rudra Gītā ends in ch. 89. *See* Bib. Ind. Edn. of 1893, Varāhapurāṇa.

Rudra Gītā.—Chs. 6-10, IV Pāda, of the Bṛhad Brahma Saṁhitā of the Nāradapāñcarātra. *See* ch. 6, Śl. 1 for the name. Viṣṇubhakti and Advaita Vedānta. Rudra enlightening king Bhadrabāhu. *See* Ānandāśrama edn. of the Bṛhad Brahma Saṁhitā.

Laghu Gītā.—In 18 verses; perhaps the well-known 18 verses from the 18 chs. of the Bhagavad Gītā.

Mysore I. p. 628. S. R. Bhandarkar, Deccan College Catalogue, p. 449. No. 572.

Vasiṣṭha Gītā.—Yoga Vāsiṣṭha, N.S. Edn. 1918, VI (Nirvāṇaprakaraṇa), Uttarārdha, Chs. 39-40 on Svabhāvaviśrānti and Ātmaviśrānti.

Vāmadeva Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Rājadharma. Chs. 92-94, Citraśālā Press Edn. Subject: Rājadharma; expounded by sage Vāmadeva to king Sumanas.

Kumbh. Chs. 92-94. Calls this only Vāmadeva Sumanas Saṁvāda.

Vicakhnu Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharma, Ch. 265 Citraśālā. On Ahiṁsā and vegetarian offerings to God. Kumbh. Ch. 271, not called Gītā here; king given as Vicakhyu.

Viratagīta (*ā*).—Keonjhar 67.

Vṛtra Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharma, Ch. 265 Kumbh. Chs. 279-280 Citraśālā. Sāmya again,—'न शोचामि न हृष्यामि ।'.

Vedānta Gītā.—A compilation based on the Bhagavad Gītā and other sources, supporting the Nimbārka school. Edn. Bṛndāvan 1911.

Vaiṣṇava Gītā.—Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda. On the superiority of the Vaiṣṇavas. Hpr. I. 343. Kotah. 1082. Peters. IV. 24.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī.

Vyāsa Gītā.—The Uttarabhāga or the latter half of the Kūrmapurāṇa, in 45 chs., in which Vyāsa is the speaker, is called the Vyāsagītā. *See* Bib. Ind. edn.

Chs. 1-11 in this Vyāsagītā form the Īśvaragītā in which Īśvara is the sub-speaker.

Therefore sometimes, chs. 12-45 alone are referred to as Vyāsagītā.

The Vyāsagītā deals with Āśramadharmas, Smṛti-topics, Māhātmyas etc. and is thus of miscellaneous contents.

Śamyāka Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, Mokṣadharma, ch. 175. Kumbh. 173 Citraśālā, which calls this Śampāka Gītā. 'Sukha-duḥkhādinirdvandvatā' is inculcated. *See* esp. Śl. 5 Kumbh.

Śaṅkara Gītā.—Viṣṇudharmottara, Veṅkateśvara Press edn., I. Khaṇḍa. Chs. 52-65. A dialogue between Paraśurāma and Śaṅkara, the latter enlightening the former on Viṣṇu, His worship and on the stories of the Avatāras, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana and Trivikrama. Ch. 56 here is called 'विष्णोः दिव्यविभूतिवर्णनम् 'and it is

almost a reproduction with some verbal changes of the Vibhūti Yogādhyāya of the Gītā. Ample correspondence with the Bhagavad Gītā is seen in this Gītā.

A Śaṅkara Gītā is quoted by Hemādri and Śūlapāṇi in the Kālamādhava.

Śaṅkara Gītā.—Different from the previous; Umāmaheśvara saṁvāda; MD. 2544; this Ms. contains two chs. both dealing with Chāyāpuruṣa.

Śānti Gītā.—On resignation and the supreme Truth; by Kāśīnātha Musthauphī with a copious Bengali commentary by his nephew. Calcutta, 1897. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 298. Found also in the Gītāgranthāvalī.

Śiva Gītā.—When Rāma is suffering in his lovelorn state after separation from Sītā in the Daṇḍaka forests, Agastya and Śiva advise him. Philosophy—Advaita plus Śivabhakti. Verses of Gītā and Upaniṣadic passages found profusely. Here also a Viśvarūpadarśana and stuti occur. 16 chs. According to the colophon, part of the Padmapurāṇa, Uparibhāga but not traceable in the Ānandāśrama edn. of the Padma in 4 vols. In L. 1488, however, this same text is ascribed to the Matsya, Uttarakhaṇḍa.

Edn. (1) Jaffna, Kali 5016, in Grantha characters with a Tamil transl. by M. Muthukkumarasvami Gurukkal.

(2) With Paramaśivendra Sarasvatī's gloss, Vāṇī Vilās Press, Śrīraṅgam, 1906 (Chs. 1-3).

(3) N. S. Press, Bombay (full). 1909.

(4) No. 4 in the Gītāsaṅgraha.

Śiva Gītā.—Is quoted many times in the Nityācārapradīpa of Narasiṁha, Bib. Ind. Edn., Vol. II.

The Śiva Gītā quoted by Hemādri in Pariśeṣa, 2, 74, as from the Viṣṇudharmottara, is the Śaṅkara Gītā; *see* above.

Stein 215 gives a Śivagītā from the Śivapurāṇa; the Venk. edn. of the Śivapurāṇa does not contain a Gītā like this.

Oppert, Rice and a Benares Skr. College catalogue speak of a Śiva Gītā from the Skānda.

Śivarāma Gītā.—Yoga and Advaita. Said to form part of a work called Śukodaya otherwise known as Advaitasudhārasa in which Śiva and Rāma converse.

Adyar I. p. 140. M. T. 329 (11 chs.) Mysore I. p. 178.

Śivaśaṅkara Gītā.—Quoted by Mādhava in his Kālanirṇaya, p. 114, A.S.B. edn. by Candrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra.

Śivottara Gītā.—MT. 4063 (t) on Śivamāhātmya, in 3 Paṭalas, said to form part of the Harivaṁśa; colophons similar to those found in the Bha. Gītā.

Kṛṣṇa-Arjuna saṁvāda in Dvārakā when the two were sitting at ease.

Called *Śiva Uttaragītā* evidently to distinguish it from the more well-known Uttaragītā expounded by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna, in which Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu is glorified.

Not found in the Venk. edn. of the Harivaṁśa.

Śiṣṭa Gītā.—By a pupil of Nimbārka, Nimbārka school. Ak. 450, 5. Bhr. 83. CPB. 5821. S.R. Bhandarkar, Deccan College, p. 249. No. 83.

Śruti Gītā.—The praise of God by the Vedas themselves. The Bhāgavata X. 87. Kumb. edn. Has many commentaries.

Ṣaḍja Gītā.—Found in the collection 'Gītāgranthāvalī'.

Sadāśiva Gītā.—Quoted by Sundaradeva. Hall p. 18. Aufrecht CC. I. p. 691 b.

There is a ms. of this name in the Ānandāśrama, Poona (No. 3985).

Is this identical with any of the Śiva Gītās given above?

Sanatkumāra Gītā.—8 chs. from the Sanatkumārasaṁhitā of the Skānda. MT. 3628 (b). *See also* BP. Introduction p. 4.

Sannyāsa Gītā.—17 chs. by Yājñavalkya. Benares edn. 1917. (Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-1928, Col. 937). Is this the Yājñavalkya Gītā or the Yogiyājñavalkīya?

Sāra Gītā.—Aufrecht's CC. mentions two Gītās of this name on I. p. 713a, one as a sequel to the Bhagavad Gītā and the other as dealing with Yoga. W. p. 358. Oudh. 1877, 64. Hall p. 15. NW. 412.

Compare Tattvasāra Gītā above.

Siddha Gītā.—Yogavāsiṣṭha, V (Upaśamaprakaraṇa, Ch. 8, pp. 563-564, N.S. Edn. 1818. Advaita.

Siddha Gītā.—Jodhpur. p. 60. Fl. p. 152.

Identical with the Siddha Gītā noted above?

Siddhānta Gītā.—Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda in 8 chs. Adyar I. p. 135b. L. 303. TD. 9025-9027. Purports to be a part of Atharvaṇa vedarahasya. In TD. 9027, the colophon adds that this pertains to the Laghunārāyaṇopaniṣad (to be contrasted with the Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad!) of the Atharvaṇavedarahasya.

Siddhāntasāra Kapila Gītā.— *See* above under the second Kapila Gītā.

Sudarśana Gītā.—Chs. 2-13, Pāda I, the Bṛhad Brahma Saṁhitā of the Nāradapāñcarātra. Devotion to Viṣṇu. Chs. 3-13 deal with the story of the devotee Śrīvatsa after whom the chapters have the sub-title, Śrīvatsacarita. In ch. 13, Śl. 228, this section is given the name 'Sudarśana Gītā'. *See also* L. 4191.

See Ānandāśrama Edn. of the Bṛhad Brahma Saṁhitā.

Sūkṣma Gītā.—IO. Ptd. Bks. II. i. 1897. p. 214.

Sūta Gītā.—Skānda, Sūtasaṁhitā, 4th section called Yajñavaibhavakhaṇḍa, Uparibhāga, Chs. 1-8. Sūta expounds Advaita and Śiva's greatness. Edn. Ānandāśrama 25 with Mādhavācārya's gloss.

Sūrya Gītā.—From the Karmakāṇḍa of the Tattvasārāyaṇa by Vasiṣṭha. Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha (No. 9). For a ms. *see* Adyar I. p. 140b. Sūrya's Upadeśa to Aruṇa, in 5 chs.

Saumya Gītā.—Ascribed to the Padmapurāṇa. Mysore III. p. 3.

Smṛti Gītā.—Oppert I. 6543. Is this Śruti Gītā?

Haṁsa Gītā.—No. 11 in the Gītāsaṅgraha; ascribed to the XI Skandha of the Bhāgavata. This is Śls. 15-42, Ch. 13, Sk. XI of the Bhāgavata, Kumbh. edn., where, of course, it is not called 'Gītā', but is called only Haṁsetihāsa.

Haṁsa Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharma, Ch. 299 Citraśālā; Kumbh. 305. but called here only Haṁsa Sādhya saṁvāda.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī, ed. by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya.

Haṁsa Gītā.—Viṣṇudharmottara, Venk. edn., Khaṇḍa 3, Chs. 226-7 to 342 pp. 400-463.

Speaker Viṣṇu in the form of Haṁsa. On a variety of topics, Varṇāśramadharma, Ācāra, Prāyaścitta, Kāmādidoṣanindā, Jñānāguṇapraśaṁsā, Aṣṭāṅgāyoga, Deva atithi brāhmaṇa gopūjā, Iṣṭāpūrta, Dānas, Strīdharma, Rājadharma including Vyavahāra etc., Sannyāsa and Viṣṇubhakti.

In ch. 340 dealing with Yatidharma, Upaniṣadic passages occur. In 342, there is a Viśvarūpadarśana, a Gītā-feature, on having which the sages exclaim in Gītā- words "नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा" Śl. 22.

For a frag. ms. of this, *see* Lz. 350, having chs. 323-340.

Hārīta Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharma, Ch. 268 Kumbh. 278 Citraśālā.

On what a Mumukṣu must do to achieve Mokṣa. Sāmya and other ideas well-known from the Gītā are met with here also.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī ed. by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya.

The Veṇu Gītā (X. 21.), the Gopīyugala Gītā (X. 35), the Gopikā Gītā, (X. 31) the Bhramara Gītā (X. 47), these sections of the Bhāgavata are really Gītās, though some mss. of these sections style them Gītās. I have left them out of this list of Gītās.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

DHARMAKOSA—VYAVAHARAKANDA—VYAVAHARAMATRKA-VOL. I, PART I, PUBLISHED BY THE PRAJNA PATHA SHALA MANDAL, SATARA, AND EDITED BY LAXMAN SHASTRI JOSHI.

The task of collecting the materials bearing on Hindu sociology, Hindu jurisprudence and ethics, from the vast mass of Hindu religious literature is a stupendous one which has been undertaken by the Prajna Patha Shala Mandal at Wai, Satara District. As a first part and sample of the work, the book on ancient judicial procedure, Vyavahāra Mātṛkā, has been published, and we have great pleasure in acknowledging with gratitude the receipt of this volume kindly sent by the Editor Mr. Laxman Shastri Joshi. It is, indeed, a very praiseworthy idea to plan and bring out a number of volumes like this. It is no exaggeration to say that this task is a very difficult one and requires great learning, research, discrimination and taste on the part of the persons who are engaged in it. The modern amenities of subject index, word index, contents of chapters and other references are absolutely necessary to the modern student, and the editor has kept in view this important desideratum. The editor has, as we see from the explanatory foreword tothe Dharmakośa, included within his purview texts hitherto unpublished and untranslated. The vast mass of literature that has to be manipulated in a scheme like this is so unorganized and huge that one will be justified in entertaining a doubt whether it will be possible to sift and analyse all the material and bring out a series of volumes which will satisfy the scientific taste of the modern reader and be helpful also to him in making ready references amidst the bustle and hurry of modern life.

The cost of publication will be very great, the number of scholars required to work at it will also be large and the time taken will be necessarily long. But, if the task can be accomplished successfully even after a good length of time it will be well worth all the trouble and will be a standing monument to the research and capacity of our scholars. It will constitute a unique service to the cause of the study and dissemination of Hindu culture. The generosity of many Hindu Princes and leading men

will have to be tapped for such a venture. We hope and trust that the Indian public will readily respond to the call of the editor and the publishers and help them in coming out of this venture with success. The topics under each and every heading will have to be arranged with circumspection and in such a manner as they may prove useful to the modern Hindu dealing with the problems of Hindu sociology, jurisprudence, ethics and religion. We can rely on the capacity of the editor to do this successfully. Even at the risk of increasing the magnitude of the task we may suggest that an English translation of the volumes will also be very helpful. We have great pleasure in adding our humble voice to the appeal of the editors for help and monetary assistance.

K. B.

THE MELA-RAGA-MALIKA OF MAHA VAIDYANATHA SIVAN, EDITED BY PANDIT S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, F. T. S., THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE, ADYAR, 1937. pp. xxxvi, 86. Rs. 2.

The Rāgamālikā is a familiar musical form in South India, as the composing or the practical exposition of it is rendered facile by the exhaustive system of classification of Rāgas and the detailed specifications of their Lakṣaṇas now extant in Carnatic music. Individual Rāgamālikās have their own characteristics of form and arrangement, and the book under review gives one kind of them. The Mēla Rāgamālikā is a type which does not appear to have been attempted by many composers, the only other intsance now coming to one's mind being the "Rāgāṅga Rāgamālikā" of Krishna Kavi, the *Dhātu* for which was furnished by Subbarāma Dīkṣita.

Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar's Mēla Rāgamālikā is said to be based on the "system of Mēlas Kanakāṅgī to Rasikapriyā expounded by Govindācārya in his "Saṅgraha Cūḍāmaṇi" (p. xxxiii). The claim advanced for this latter work, that it is the basis of South Indian music (p. xiii), is perhaps too broadly stated. The scheme of 72 Mēla Kartas is undoubtedly that of the Caturdaṇḍi Prakāśikā (*circa* 1620). Veṅkaṭamakhin for the first time invented this mathematically perfect and completely exhaustive scheme of classification of the Mēla Rāgas into their several cakras with mnemonic particulars for each, bringing within this framework every possible combination of the 12 semitones perceived in one octave of the frets of the

Vīṇā. The special merit of the system lies in its originality at a time when not more than 20 Mēlas were known and classified (cf. Svaramēla Kalānidhi of Rāmāmātya), and its vision of the future possibilities of the other svara-combinations (cf. Caturdaṇḍi Prakāśikā IV, 83, 4). The *Kaṭapayādi* formula is perhaps not peculiar to his system. The "ingenious device" of indicating the different varieties of the same svara by different vowel changes (as Ra, ri, ru etc.) is certainly not Veṅkaṭamakhin's (p. xvi). This latter form of notation is at least as old as the 7th century A. D., and is found in the "Svarāgama" of the 'Royal pupil of Rudrācārya' (Pallava Grantha Inscription at Kuḍumiyāmalai, Inscriptions of the Pudukkottah State, No. 2, Page 2).

Of the Saṅgraha Cūḍāmaṇi, nothing is known of the author except that he has obviously adopted Veṅkaṭamakhin's scheme, only giving new names to each Mēla, for some obscure reasons of his own. Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar's Rāga Mālikā took the Cūḍāmaṇi for the basis, but many earlier composers (and of them principally Muthusvāmi Dīkṣita) do not appear to have been aware of the existence of such an authority, and even several of the Kīrtanas of Tyāgarāja appear in the Cūḍāmaṇi garb only in the books brought out by one or two publishers. The nomenclature adopted for the Mēla Kartas by him requires to be taken along with the modification of the *Kaṭapayādi* formula in the case of names with conjunct consonants noticed on p. xxvi, which is a needless complication of a perfect system. (The numbers assigned to these particular Mēlas on pp. xxvii to xxxi, are printed in disregard of this very modification).

The book under review brings within the space of a handy volume a biographical note on Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar, extracted from the life of the composer by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, an introduction to the 72 Mēla Kartas scheme, and the Rāgamālikā itself. We note some departures from the life sketch by the Mahāmahopādhyāya (e.g. p. viii: Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar is said to have ascribed the Rāga Cakravāka to the Cūḍāmaṇi and not to the Ratnākara). We must confess to a feeling of uneasiness when we read that a Mēla Rāga Mālikā in Marathi by Venkata Rao "was composed in Sanskrit with a new setting by Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar in praise of his patron-deity Praṇatārti-hara" (p. ix), whereas the

Mahāmahopādhyāya has merely stated in his sketch that Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar *set to music* an old "mālikā" which has fallen into desuetude. We cannot but regret that the editor has missed a good opportunity to make clear the exact part of Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar in the composition. We are aware of instances of songs of other composers being ascribed in some publications to Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar, but we have been accustomed to regard the Mēla Rāga Mālikā as certainly and entirely his. This all too unsatisfying statement, however, shakes the foundations of belief, and we are not reassured when we learn that Ramaswami Śivan had a hand in the Ciṭṭai Svara portions.

On the intrinsic merit of the entire Rāgamālikā, opinions may be divided, but the individual musical beauty of certain Rāgas in the Mālika cannot be gainsaid. The "Rāga Mālikā" is taken from the Telugu version by Vidvan Sabhesa Aiyar and we would have appreciated certain features of the latter work being reproduced in this also. The Telugu book gives the Sāhitya alone separately and this makes possible a conspectus of the entire work which in this is spread out over 86 pages interspersed with svara passages. The notation adopted lacks the lucidness of that in the Telugu version. The transliteration undoubtedly enhances the value of the book, at least for those who do not know the Telugu or Nāgarī scripts. The book is well printed and got up, though we must say the price fixed is not likely to serve the object of popularising an important composition.

G. Tyagaraja Sastri.

OBITUARY.

THE LATE PROFESSOR SUNDARARAMA AIYAR.

We beg to express our deep sorrow at the passing away at the ripe age of 84 of Professor Sundararama Iyer at Kumbakonam. He belonged to the giant tribe of distinguished educationists of the 19th century like Mr. Porter and Mr. T. Gopala Rao who made Kumbakonam justly famous in the educational world. He was a great Oriental scholar and was till the last days of his life deeply engaged in the study of Hindu religious literature and in the investigation of the problems connected with the history of Hindu religious thought. As a result of his research, he made many notable contributions to the daily papers and to periodicals and was a very valued subscriber to our Journal. From the beginning of our Journal he took great interest in its progress and was a diligent reader of its articles and publications. His essays which appeared from time to time were collected and published by the Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam in two volumes "Dharma and Life" and the "Vedanta and its ethical aspects." He also wrote a book on the "Life of Śrī Rāmānuja." He was an erudite critic and was engaged all through life in fighting for his ideals and principles, ever keen and ready with great skill and power to detect flaws and expose fallacies. The world of South Indian scholarship has sustained a great loss in his death and our Journal, one of the most distinguished patrons and sympathisers.

THE LATE MR. R. KRISHNASWAMI SASTRI, B.A.

We beg to express our sense of profound sorrow at the passing away of Mr. R. Krishnaswami Sastri, one of the distinguished members of our Editorial Committee. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, well versed in Vedanta philosophy, and had a great capacity and taste for research in Oriental subjects. Though he was not widely known to the public, as he chose to lead a rather secluded life, sailing in the placid waters of the Registration Department, the world of scholars knew him as a person of deep erudition, well-cultivated taste and critical acumen. We record with great appreciation the services rendered by him as a member of our Editorial Committee.

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

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Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

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Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . . . .

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